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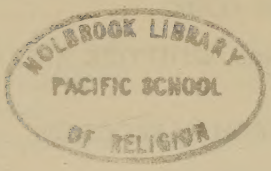

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SEVENTY YEARS OF WHITTIER BIOGRAPHIES 1882-1952

By Edward D. Snyder*

I.

The Biographies as a Group

THE self-imposed task of reading all the book-length biographies of Whittier has turned out to be the most interesting literary experience of my life.

It has been a little like reading Browning's long poem *The Ring and the Book,* where the same story is told over and over by different people. With each re-telling, Browning's story gets more interesting and at the same time each narrator unconsciously reveals his own character. So to a large extent with my study of Whittier: I have found that the story of his life never gets tiresome, while many of the biographers reveal amazing facets of their own personalities. It is my purpose in this article to show the special features of each biography and, in many cases, to show why the book was written.

But first let me mention a few large impressions which have forced themselves on my attention while doing this reading. The biographies as a group show that throughout the sixty-odd years since Whittier's death, there has been a persistent interest in his life. This is not a sectarian prejudice—few of the biographies are by Quakers—it is something much more universal. People are fascinated to discover what a tremendous influence Whittier had

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on so many different people, and in such diverse matters—despite two heavy handicaps: his lack of formal education and his inability to speak in public. How did he get General Frémont to step aside and clear the way for Lincoln's renomination in 1864? That is a long story. How did he stir Lincoln to writing the Emancipation Proclamation? That is a short one: he wrote one poem, "Ein Feste Burg." How did this third-class rhymester turn into the poet who wrote the most moving of our religious poems and the immortal "Snow-Bound"? These are the puzzles that make Whittier biography fascinating both to write and to read.

Furthermore, Whittier lived the Quaker way of life very deeply and intelligently, and he disseminated many of the finest seeds of Quakerism throughout the English-speaking world. Let me quote from the late Rufus Jones on Whittier's standing among Friends:

> It is my sober judgment that John Greenleaf Whittier grasped more steadily, felt more profoundly, and interpreted more adequately the essential aspects of the Quaker life and faith during the fifty years of his creative period, from 1830 to 1880, than did any other person in the American Society of Friends of that half century. I am unable, furthermore, to think of any English Friend of those same years who saw as clearly or who expressed with equal wisdom and balance the universal significance of the central Quaker principles.[1]

The foregoing are probably the main reasons why Whittier has been so important to so many people over so many years. But as efforts toward internationalism grow stronger, Whittier grows more important year by year. This point, which many people overlook, was emphasized as early as 1908 by Bliss Perry in an inspired passage from which I quote a part:

> The race-question transcends any academic inquiry as to what ought to have been done in 1866. It affects the North as well as the South, it touches the daily life of all of our citizens, individually, politically, humanly. It moulds the child's conception of democracy. It tests the faith of the adult. It is by no means an American problem only. The relation of the white with the yellow and black races is an urgent question all around the globe. The present unrest in India, the wars in Africa, the struggle between Japan and Russia, the national reconstruction

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[1] "Whittier's Fundamental Religious Faith," in Howard H. Brinton, ed., *Byways in Quaker History* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1944), p. 19.

of China, the sensitiveness of both Canadian and Californian to Oriental immigration, are impressive signs that the adjustment of race-differences is the greatest humanitarian task now confronting the world. What is going on in our States, North and South, is only a local phase of a world problem.

Now, Whittier's opinions upon that world-problem are unmistakable. He believed, quite literally, that all men are brothers; that oppression of one man or one race degrades the whole human family; and that there should be the fullest equality of opportunity. That a mere difference in color should close the door of civil, industrial, and political hope upon any individual was a hateful thing to the Quaker poet. The whole body of his verse is a protest against the assertion of race pride, against the emphasis upon racial differences.[2]

II.

THE BIOGRAPHIES INDIVIDUALLY

In 1882 appeared the first important biography: *John Greenleaf Whittier: His Life, Genius, and Writings* by W. Sloane Kennedy, published at Boston by S. E. Cassino. Kennedy (1850-1929), a professional writer, had met Whittier, but was not a Quaker or a member of the inner Whittier circle. Part I — the "Life"—is extremely good reading—highly informative, easy in manner, yet obviously not meant to curry favor with the poet as is shown by many adverse references to his style. The biography ends with Whittier's seventy-fifth year. Part II—"Analysis of His Genius and Writings"—is worthless in that Kennedy, while admiring Quakers, considered their doctrines untenable as a system of thought. Specifically he said:

> The objections to the Quakerism of our day are that it is retractile, stationary, negative; it is selfish, narrow, ascetic, tame. . . . The Quakers are a hopelessly antiquated sect, a dying branch almost wholly severed from connection with the living forces of the tree of modern society.[3]

To write thus was to betray an intellectual prejudice which disqualified Kennedy as a critic or an interpreter of the religious writing of Whittier or of any other Friend. Incidentally, how Kennedy must have turned in his grave when the "dying" Friends were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize!

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[2] "Whittier for To-day," in *Park-Street Papers* (Boston and New York, 1908), pp. 195-96, by Bliss Perry, from whose books I have "gladly learned" more about American literature than from those of any other scholar.

[3] P. 179.

The 1892 "Revised and Enlarged Edition" of Kennedy's biography was obviously whipped into shape to catch the public interest at the time of Whittier's death. The new edition uses the old plates for most of the pages—and for the Table of Contents —although an added Introduction makes wrong every page number in the new edition! There is also a cross reference to an Appendix which has been deleted in the new edition. The Index, which should have been revised and re-paged, has been omitted entirely.

A very different man from Kennedy was Francis H. Underwood (1825-1894), who was personally responsible for launching the *Atlantic Monthly* as a superior literary magazine to make abolitionism respected and to wipe out slavery. Underwood never became editor-in-chief,[4] partly through sheer bad luck, partly because he lived amid a galaxy of literary lights and was outshone by Lowell, partly because he was "neither a Harvard man nor a humbug."

Underwood knew Whittier well and was encouraged by him in his biographical efforts, which were published in 1884 (copyright 1883): *John Greenleaf Whittier: A Biography.* Being a careful scholar as well as an abolitionist, he was qualified to treat Whittier sympathetically and accurately. I find most useful the impartial sections on "Puritans and Quakers" (pp. 18ff.) and on the *Atlantic* (pp. 213ff.) about which he knew everything.

Underwood's manner in literary criticism, however, is too leisurely; he assumes the reader has unlimited time. In Chapter XXI he takes six pages to say what could be said better in this one sentence: "Not many elderly poets could write as moving a love poem as 'The Henchman,' which Whittier composed at the age of seventy in reply to a challenge from his young neighbor Mrs. Wason." And Underwood omits all reference to Mrs. Wason and her challenge! Too frequently, in introducing a poem by Whittier, he indulges in long and tiresome preliminary platitudes about literary standards. Thus I find that while the parts of the book devoted to biography are a treasure house, the parts on literary criticism are a soporific.

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[4] See Bliss Perry, "The Editor Who Was Never the Editor," in *Park-Street Papers,* pp. 205-277.

Returning briefly to a writer who had twice bungled, we find W. S. Kennedy's third attempt at Whittier to be a very good book: *John G. Whittier, The Poet of Freedom* (New York, 1892, in the American Reformers Series). It is packed with information about Whittier and others, about fresh eggs costing only half as much as rotten ones to be thrown at abolitionists, about the split between Whittier and Garrison, and kindred matters. Here the author knows his material and the book is well worth reading.

Wilfred Whitten's *John Greenleaf Whittier: A Biographical Sketch* (London, 1892) is a labor of love by an English Friend, who completed his book just after Whittier's death. He did not bother to go to America to see the magazines edited by Whittier, which, he regretted, "are not to be found at the British Museum"; nor in reading proof did he always remember that the poet was born in Haverhill—not *Haviland!* The book contains profuse quotations of the poetry, with appropriate comments, not warped, I think, by sectarian prejudice. That is about all one can say for it except that it is attractively bound and printed with wide margins.

A difficult biography to appraise is W. J. Linton's *Life of Whittier* (London, 1893, in the Great Writers Series). Linton (1812-1898) was an English engraver, poet, editor, and political reformer, who happened to visit America in 1866 and spent most of his remaining years in this country. His autobiography, *Threescore and Ten Years: 1820-1890,* shows he was a brilliant eccentric; nevertheless, he was not brilliant enough to do a good biography when he was over eighty. The factual matter is taken largely from Kennedy and Underwood, and not always accurately: the date of Whittier's death is missed by two months, as is the date of his funeral. The last chapter consists entirely of excerpts from David A. Wasson's study of Whittier in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1864. Linton had only a slight personal acquaintance with the poet, and his biography is hardly worth reading unless it is the only one available. It does, however, have an excellent analytical Table of Contents, which, along with the Index, makes it useful for ready reference.

Barrett Wendell's Whittier *Memoir,* presented to the Amer-

ican Academy of Arts and Sciences on June 14, 1893,[5] is too brief to be included in this study of book-length biographies. But when it was translated into Italian and published many years later, it was augmented by substantial supplementary material and printed in book form under this imposing title: *Giovanni G. Whittier: Poeta-Riformatore Propugnatore del Risorgimento Italiano (1807-1892) di Barrett Wendell con Prefacione del Senatore Francesco Ruffini* (To which is added a twelve-page Appendix, also in Italian, by H. Nelson Gay).

On December 17, 1892, which would have been Whittier's eighty-fifth birthday had he lived, William Lloyd Garrison delivered before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences an address which was published at Boston in 1893. This is an excellent piece of work, with just enough of the old-fashioned oratorical style to give it a quaint dignity and charm. It concludes with a tribute in verse by Garrison himself.

The author was not, of course, the world-famous abolitionist, whose funeral Whittier had attended in 1879, but his second son, born in 1838. He never became a church member, though he was a religious man and the benefactor of many churches. He had some sympathy with the Quakers, but the fact that his wife had been read out of meeting for marrying him speaks for itself.

Personal Recollections of John G. Whittier by Mary G. Claflin (New York and Boston, 1893). This tiny book, which can be slipped into the pocket and read in less than two hours, relates some very interesting and moving anecdotes about the poet in his later years. Although Mrs. Claflin tried to keep herself out of the picture as much as possible, the perceptive reader soon discovers that most of the stories relate to Whittier's friendship with herself and her husband, William Claflin, Governor of Massachusetts, 1869-71. It is a book that must be read.

When Annie Adams married James T. Fields as his second wife, she was only twenty to his thirty-seven. Her combination of personal charm, good education, and interest in her husband's

[5] Published as the sixth essay in his *Stelligeri and Other Essays Concerning America* (New York, 1893).

publishing business soon attracted most of the Boston literati to their home as frequent guests. Here Whittier was among the most intimate, and the friendship did not terminate with the death of Fields in 1881.

In her *Whittier: Notes of His Life and of His Friendships* (New York, 1893) she reports intimately the poet's conversations when she and her husband would visit him, when he would visit them, and when they would all meet at Celia Thaxter's home on the Isles of Shoals. The book, like Mrs. Claflin's, is fascinating.

Mrs. Fields did, however, inadvertently light a time bomb which exploded in 1936—quite a delay! She wrote:

> In speaking of Rossetti and of his ballad of "Sister Helen," [Whittier] confessed to being strangely attracted to this poem, because he could remember seeing his mother, "who was as good a woman as ever lived," and his aunt, performing the same strange act of melting a waxen figure of a clergyman of their time.
>
> The solemnity of the affair made a deep impression on his mind, as a child, for the death of the clergyman in question was confidently expected. His "heresies" had led him to experience this cabalistic treatment.[6]

This amazing story was picked up by Van Wyck Brooks and repeated in his *Flowering of New England*—to the regret of many who knew the Whittier tradition well. As Rufus Jones told me out and out, it simply could not have been true of Whittier's mother and aunt. My own guess is that Whittier told Mrs. Fields that his mother or his aunt had heard that the waxen image ritual had been performed in New England.[7]

Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier by Samuel T. Pickard, two volumes (Boston and New York, 1894). This is the work which, according to Colonel Higginson, "must always hold the leading place among all books relating to the poet's personal history." It was Whittier's plan that Pickard should merely gather and arrange the material while President Thomas

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[6] Pp. 52-53.

[7] See my comments on *The Flowering of New England* in *Friends Intelligencer,* XCIV (May 15, 1937), 340-341.

Chase of Haverford College should do the actual writing,[8] but of course Chase's untimely death made this impossible. Pickard had, however, special intimacy with the family through his marriage in 1876 to the poet's niece and housekeeper, Elizabeth Whittier; what is more, he was an able writer and conscientious biographer.

Before indicating the most interesting passages in Pickard's *Life and Letters,* let me make a few critical comments: Pickard corrected Whittier's grammar in the letters and changed a word here and there in an effort to improve (as he thought) the style. I can show this by comparing my own precise transcripts of some letters to Ann Wendell[9] with Pickard's brief extracts. I have also noted that Pickard was so unbearably "discreet" that the reader instinctively realizes this is a bowdlerized treatment of a man whose friendships with women have been omitted or played down to the level of a namby-pamby. A final observation: Pickard was in duty bound to tell all the details of Whittier's political lobbying over points in Massachusetts politics which are now buried in oblivion, and to write a book so long that today no one but a professional would think of plowing through its eight hundred pages. He had to do this—it was expected of him by those who vaguely remembered the picayune details—but we of the mid-twentieth century can rejoice that its enormous index enables us to relegate it to the position of the best biographical reference book on Whittier. For steady reading let me recommend Higginson.

Among passages of special interest I note, merely as samples: Whittier disliked his own *Legends of New England* so much that when he came across a copy he would buy it for as much as five dollars and then destroy it (p. 92). He attempted to write a novel to reconcile North and South (p. 101). At the burning of Pennsylvania Hall Whittier cleverly disguised himself, joined the mob, and looted his own office (pp. 232ff). Whittier's tremendous influence on General Frémont (pp. 460-64, 487).

[8] See Whittier's letter to Miss Phebe Woodman, June 1892, in *Whittier Correspondence from the Oak Knoll Collections,* ed. John Albree (Salem, 1911), p. 257.

[9] BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, XXIX (Autumn, 1940), especially pp. 76-80.

Amusing interest in the building of the *Kearsarge* (p. 477). Whittier's theology versus Moody's (p. 628). Pickard's "discreet" omission of all reference to Mark Twain's embarrassing speech at the seventieth birthday dinner (pp. 634ff). Only one sentence (out of 800 pages) devoted to Pickard's literary rival, President Chase (p. 704). Formal tribute to Whittier on his eightieth birthday, signed by (among others) fifty-nine Senators, all members of the Supreme Court, and 333 members of the House of Representatives (pp. 725ff).

In appraising Pickard's all-important biography, it may be well to note that he was not a Quaker.

The article on Benjamin Orange Flower (1858-1918) in the *Dictionary of American Biography* confirms the vague conjectures that I had made after my second reading of his puzzling *Whittier: Prophet, Seer and Man* (Boston, 1896). Flower, born and brought up in the Midwest, had planned to follow his father and older brother by becoming a minister of the Disciples of Christ; but he turned Unitarian and thenceforth decided to do his reforming of the world by writing rather than by preaching. Shortly before writing his *Whittier* he produced three other books which show the trend of his almost fanatical religious interest in uplifting the poor and the oppressed: *Lessons Learned from Other Lives* (1891), *Civilization's Inferno, or Studies in the Social Cellar* (1893), and *Gerald Massey, Poet, Prophet, and Mystic* (1895).

Flower had read four or five books about Whittier, and from them he constructed a passable biography. But he wrote one chapter (pp. 105-27) out of his own heart, and it is well worth reading. As a Unitarian, Flower was completely in sympathy with Whittier's anti-Calvinism; further, unlike some Unitarians, he wrote with sublime confidence about "the religion of the future." Whittier, he says, "stood in the midway between the departing ideals of ancient orthodoxy and the religion of the future." An occasional paragraph rises close to the sublime.

In lighter vein Flower tells, implying that it came from Whittier, the now-familiar story about the woman who heckled the speakers at an abolition meeting until Wendell Phillips and two other gentlemen lifted her from her seat and carried her

down the aisle. She called out: "I am better off than my Master was, for He had but one ass to ride on, while I have three to carry me."

Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823-1911) was admirably qualified to write a mature, well-balanced life of Whittier. At the age of nineteen he had overcome his shyness to shake hands with the author of "Massachusetts to Virginia"; throughout most of the Civil War he commanded a regiment of Negroes, and in his old age he was still a champion of the Negroes' right to be held in esteem. Listening to an academic paper which maintained that many of them could scarcely speak or understand the English language, the venerable Colonel rose unsteadily to his feet and electrified the meeting by saying: "My men could understand *me,* when I gave the word, 'Forward'!"[10] That Higginson was one of the militant abolitionists whom the poet admired is evident from his 1863 letter to Miss Charlotte Forten, which characterizes the Colonel as " a rare man, a gentleman, scholar, and true friend of the slave."[11] But any attempt to summarize Colonel Higginson's virtues and abilities would exceed the limits of this paper.

The book itself, *John Greenleaf Whittier,* in the English Men of Letters Series (New York, 1902) runs to only 196 pages including a very full index. The author recognizes the flatness of Whittier's early verses, devotes a short chapter to "Early Loves and Love Poetry," and manages to avoid the "discreet" anonymity of earlier biographies. Since he knew Whittier and many of his friends, he frequently lets himself into the narrative, thereby giving the story a freshness that was lacking in the older biographies written when impersonality was in vogue. I think that in many ways this is the best of the lot.

A similar biography, with the same simple title, *John Greenleaf Whittier,* was published in the American Men of Letters Series (Boston and New York, 1903). The author, George Rice Carpenter (1863-1909), was a brilliant professor of English at Columbia, where he is said to have been a great

[10] See Bliss Perry's essay "The Colonel's Quality" in *The Praise of Folly and Other Papers* (Boston and New York, 1923), p. 77.

[11] Pickard, p. 473.

leader in building the University. His work on Dante, Longfellow, Whitman, and Whittier has left his reputation secure despite his early death.

Carpenter pays a lovely tribute to Friends: "Could Christ have come to earth again, they it would clearly have been . . . that He would have recognized as most patiently following out the tenets He laid most stress on."[12] Because the influence of Burns on Whittier has been so often emphasized, I think Carpenter's pointing toward Byron (see pp. 49, 94, and 228) is important. Carpenter was also wise in using as Appendix I the "Autobiographical Letter" which the poet had had privately printed in 1882 for use in correspondence. The book is much like Higginson's—not quite so intimate, but equally reliable and equally well-balanced.

Bliss Perry's *John Greenleaf Whittier: A Sketch of his Life with Selected Poems* (Boston and New York, 1907) contains a biographical essay of only thirty pages. Perhaps more useful is Mr. Perry's slightly longer essay "Whittier for To-day" in his collection entitled *Park-Street Papers* (Boston and New York, 1908), from which I have quoted above.

Georgina King Lewis (1847-1924), a brilliant Englishwoman, was brought up as a Congregationalist, but in 1898 she joined Friends and in the next year was recorded a minister. At the request of her publishers, and because she thought Whittier's life and work were not known well enough in England, she wrote *John Greenleaf Whittier: His Life and Work* (London, n.d. [Introduction dated 1913]). Because she had never been in America, her book lacks certainty of biographical touch; for example, it says that at the seventieth birthday dinner tendered Whittier by the *Atlantic Monthly* "Mark Twain was intensely comic and irresistible," while the plain fact is that Mark Twain's speech was followed by the most ghastly silence in the history of American literature.[13] On the other hand, the book is better than most in its interpretation of Whittier's religion. It ends—and I think this is unique among biographies of Whittier—with an

[12] P. 22.

[13] P. 167. Cf. Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain* (New York and London, 1912), II, 603-10.

eight-page appeal to free the slaves on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, which Britain had acquired by the Anglo-German treaty of 1890.

Whittier at Close Range (Boston, 1925) is by Frances Campbell Sparhawk, who identifies herself as the daughter of Whittier's physician and friend. Like the small volumes by Mrs. Claflin and Mrs. Fields discussed above, it consists of anecdotes about Whittier, but it lacks freshness. One reads on and on, always expecting that the next story will be worth reading, and one is usually disappointed. Occasionally there is something worth reporting, like Whittier's terse "I have not married a wife; I will not marry a nurse." But the book suffers throughout from an indirectness which was outmoded long before 1925. For example, instead of saying that Whittier praised John Doe for having married a good wife, the author actually says: "This same neighbor also repeated the poet's remark to another friend who, too, was related to the heroine of one of his poems." Eventually she carries this "discreet" anonymity to the point of referring to her own mother as "Mrs. S——."

Although Frances Sparhawk liked to emphasize her friendship with Whittier, she was not a Friend.

Albert Mordell's *Quaker Militant* (Boston and New York, 1933) is the most important biography since Pickard's as well as the most controversial. Its importance is due chiefly to the scholarly care spent in hunting up new material and in weaving it into the story of Whittier's life. The reader is rewarded, for example, by finding a hitherto unpublished poem in praise of Byron (p. 10); from an old review in the *New England Magazine* a valid charge of plagiarism in Whittier's book on Brainard (p. 36); and convincing new evidence that the poem "Ein Feste Burg" "stirred Lincoln to the writing of the Emancipation Proclamation" (p. 211n).

The book was written when Freudian psychology was popular, and involves countless attempts to show the effect of the poet's gentle little love affairs on his personality and on his writings. Today all that seems petty. Not that Freudian psychology has been entirely discredited during the past twenty years, and not that Mr. Mordell was always wrong in his psychoanalytical

guesses about Whittier, but that we now discount a man's casual intimacies with women as not earth-shaking. The seven chapters devoted to this sort of thing are out of proportion and are sometimes amusing in a way not intended by the author.

The treatment of Whittier's religion still seems to be unfair and unfortunate, as I have shown in detail elsewhere.[14]

Whittier: Bard of Freedom by Whitman Bennett (Chapel Hill, 1941) was begun because the author was made bitterly indignant by Albert Mordell's *Quaker Militant,* already discussed. Mr. Bennett is frank and fair in telling us why he wrote the book and that he found Mr. Mordell's "records of bare fact were complete and trustworthy."[15] He thus took on himself the task of reinterpreting the evidence so as to discredit or revise the Mordell picture of Whittier. Of the two books I prefer Mordell's; I find it better in style, more original, and more interesting. But Mr. Bennett's book is neither queer nor dull; it is a good enough book, but no more. As samples of mediocrity, the index contains only six references to *Mordell,* when it should contain fourteen, and the author says quite frankly that he "has made no attempt whatever to find new scraps of unpublished writings, or doubtful anecdotes." That is something of a give-away. The book interests me chiefly as evidence of the persistent interest in Whittier and of the loyalty with which people rally to his support when they think he has been unfairly attacked.

Whittier: Crusader and Prophet by Arthur Rowntree (London, n.d. [ca. 1944] is a deeply religious little book, written by an English Friend then well over eighty, in the Firbank Series "intended to illustrate in various ways the spirit of reconciliation and friendship which exists in the world and thereby encourage its growth and expansion." Obviously it should not be judged by the standards usually applied to strict biographies. We can overlook the mention of "Indiana" instead of "Indians" on p. 57, and hurry on to the message of the book, which comes on pp. 96ff.

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[14] A review in *The English Journal,* XXIII (April, 1934), 348-49, and an article on "Whittier's Hymns" in *Friends Quarterly Examiner* (London) LXVIII (1934), 746-54.

[15] Pp. 335, 338.

in the form of a new *Pilgrim's Progress* with Whittier playing the part of a man named Help, who draws a twentieth-century Pilgrim out of the Slough of Despond.

John Greenleaf Whittier . . . A Narrative Biography by Fredrika Shumway Smith (Boston, 1948). This is the most exasperating book I have read, and that statement is not limited to books about Whittier. Any effort to make a list of the demonstrable mistakes of fact soon exhausts the reader. An excellent sample is the association, on pp. 96-97, of Whittier and Cotton Mather as friends and fellow-workers in the movement to put down the persecution of alleged witches.

John Greenleaf Whittier: *Friend of Man* by John A. Pollard (Boston, 1949). I have just gone through this biography again to make sure there was no unfairness in my long, unfavorable review published in the Spring Number of this BULLETIN, for 1950. The book is still disappointing: clumsy in its mechanics, awkward in its style, and wholly uninspired. The barrage of 1341 notes at the end of the volume shows the author's painstaking accuracy, but also betrays his great debt to Pickard.

Whittier and the Cartlands: *Letters and Comments* (Wakefield, Massachusetts, 1950) by Martha Shackford, is a scholarly compilation of source material, much of it relating to the poet. It is not a biography, but a collection of well-edited letters, several now first published. The most interesting thing in the book, though not necessarily the most accurate, is this: "J. G. Whittier told Gertrude Cartland very positively that Elizabeth Lloyd was the only woman he had ever loved. When asked why he did not marry her he said that because his mother and his sister were dependent upon him he could not afford to marry."[16]

Looking back over the long list, I venture to recommend: Kennedy's volume in the American Reformers Series, the anecdotes by Mrs. Claflin and by Mrs. Fields, Pickard for reference only, Higginson, and a dash of Mordell.

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[16] P. 17.

ASSOCIATION QUAKERIANA AT YALE

By Henry J. Cadbury*

OF COLONIAL American libraries that of Yale College has had a fortunate history. It was not scattered like some libraries that we know of, nor was it burned like that of Harvard College or that of William and Mary. There is a printed catalogue of the year 1743[1] which has enabled the University to identify and collect more than two thirds of the actual twenty-five hundred books in the Library at that time. Moreover, there are lists of many of the early donations.

Recently I was able to spend half an hour at New Haven in the room specially built in the Sterling Memorial Library to reproduce the Library of 1742 in which the surviving books are housed. The old catalogue shows seven books under the following heading and subheadings:

Divinity.
VIII. Treatises on Particular Subjects.
15 Controversies.
[5] With the Quakers.

The three figures which follow the short titles indicate respectively the numbers of the "Tier," "Box" (i.e., shelf counting from the floor up), and book.

Barkley's Apology for the Quakers,	10	6	27
(& in Latin,	16	3	9
Rogers's Christian Quaker, ...	10	6	20
The Danger of Enthusiasm, ...	10	7	7
Fleetwood of Quakerism, ——	10	7	25
Penn's Sermons, ...	13	5	2
Fox's Gospel Truth, ...	14	5	8

Except for the Latin *Apology* of Robert Barclay all the books listed are shelved in the present collection. The old press marks identify them as the actual copies. A word may be said about each.

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[1] *A Catalogue of the Library of Yale College in New Haven* (New Haven, 1743). Also a facsimile reprint (Vienna, 1930). Cf. "A Library of 1742" in *Yale University Library Gazette,* IX, (1934), 1-11 and "The Yale Library of 1742," ibid., XV (1940), 29-40.

The English copy of Barclay's *Apology* is the edition printed by James Franklin at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1729. It is one of the very few American imprints that were in the Library.[2] On the title-page this book bears the signature "Benjn. Lay" and on the verso of the title-page the manuscript note: "Benjn. Lay presented to Yale Colledge in Newhaven for Service of the Students—to whome be peace through Jesus Christ our Lord." This must be the well-known antislavery reformer. He lived near Philadelphia from 1731 to his death in 1759. Though he describes himself as "illiterate," he had in later life a library of nearly two hundred books in a room in a cave on the farm of John Phipps where he lived near the Abington Meetinghouse. Evidently Lay himself sent this book as a bit of Quaker propaganda. Of this he was quite capable. He is said to have presented in person to both George I and George II copies of Milton's pamphlet *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church.*[3]

If he had any personal knowledge of the situation at Yale, he may have obtained it from David Ferris, who after nearly four years at Yale left without graduating and in 1733 went to Philadelphia and joined the Society of Friends. David Ferris had himself come upon Barclay's *Apology* in his senior year in college and had lent it to a classmate with whom he had already discussed questions dealt with in the book and to "several other thoughtful scholars."[4]

The Latin Barclay's *Apology* was the earliest edition of all, *Theologiae veré christianae apologia* (Amsterdam, 1676). It was probably the very copy mentioned in a manuscript list dated London, 15 January, 1712/13, "A List of the Books Given to the Colledge of Connecticut in New England with the names of the Benefactors,"[5] where it is entered as "Barclaii apologia Theologiæ vere Xianae 4to."

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[2] Margaret L. Johnson, "American Imprints and their Donors in the Yale College Library of 1742," in *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh* (New Haven, 1938), p. 360.

[3] Roberts Vaux, *Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford* (Philadelphia, 1815), p. 15.

[4] *Memoirs of the Life of David Ferris,* Written by Himself (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 35.

[5] *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh,* p. 452.

Jeremiah Dummer, who forwarded these books, was at the time agent in England for both Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies and his collection to be sent to Yale at this time included some three hundred and sixty-eight volumes from several different donors.[6]

The Latin *Apology* of Robert Barclay is noted as having come from "Dr. Bray." This is Reverend Thomas Bray (1658-1730), the energetic promoter of Anglicanism in the colonies through the societies which he founded (S.P.C.K. and S.P.G.). Even before he visited Maryland in 1700, he was a great forwarder of books to America, establishing ultimately over sixty parish libraries overseas and sending more than thirty-three thousand books. Yet one can think of no book he was less likely to wish to favor than this one. He was particularly interested in converting the Quakers in America to orthodoxy and with the S.P.C.K. he supplied many copies of George Keith's reply to Barclay, *The Standard of the Quakers Examined.*[7]

The only explanation I can make of the gift is that Bray thought it important for really learned clergymen to know Barclay firsthand in order to be able to answer the Quakers and that by sending a Latin edition he made sure that no unlearned laymen would be misled by it.

William Rogers' *The Christian-Quaker, Distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator* (London, 1680) and *The Harmony of Divine and Heavenly Doctrines* by William Penn, George Whitehead, and others (London, 1696) are both well-known publications, the former written by a Quaker separatist and answered by Penn and Whitehead. They both appear in a list of four hundred and seventeen titles in a manuscript "Catalogue of the Books sent by the Honorable Elihu Yale, Esquire" in 1718[8] where they are abbreviated as:

The Christian Quaker Distinquished [sic] by W. Rogers.
W. Pen's Harmony.

The former is regarded as the actual copy sent by Elihu Yale.

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[6] Ibid. p. 15.

[7] See Ethyn W. Kirby, *George Keith, 1638-1716* (New York, 1942), pp. 120-123; and John Wolfe Lydekker, *Thomas Bray 1658-1730* (Philadelphia, 1943).

[8] *Yale University Library Gazette,* XIII (1938), 51, 54.

The latter is marked on the flyleaf in ink with the characteristic repetitious scribble of old book users: "This Quaker Book Belongs to the Library of Yale College. James Davenport," and in another hand, "A Quakerification Book Novr 1732—J.L.C."

Now James Davenport (1716-57) graduated at Yale in 1732 and remained afterward to study theology. He became an extreme revivalist in the Great Awakening. Along with several other students of the time he came under the influence of the aforementioned young David Ferris, "a religious enthusiast" who later became a well-known Friend. This book shows an early contact with Quakerism by one of that circle while they were still at College, perhaps by two, though I have not identified the J.L.C. of the inscription, if the initials are correctly read.

The full title of the fourth book in the list begins: *The Danger of Enthusiasm Discovered, in an Epistle to the Quakers: in Which 'tis Endeavoured, to Convince Them of Being Guilty of Changing God's Method of Bringing Men to Salvation* (London, 1674). This book was by William Allen. It also was one of the works answered by George Whitehead. While the records of books sent in 1712/13 include three other pamphlets of William Allen, 1678-81, bound together, and a copy of his collected works (1707),[9] this book is not on the list, nor is it on the list of gifts of Elihu Yale. He is believed, however, to have been the donor, as in the case of the next following item.

The fifth book can be identified from the actual copy extant as the anonymous work, *A Vindication of the Friendly Conference between a Minister and a Parishioner of His Inclining unto Quakerism, &c from the Exceptions of Thomas Ellwood* (London, 1678). This has in recent times been attributed to Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, but the authorship is really not known. Evidently in 1742 Rector Thomas Clap of Yale, who made the catalogue, accepted it as the work of Fleetwood, possibly James Fleetwood, Bishop of Worcester. The original publication mentioned within this title had been published anonymously by the same author in 1676 and was answered the same year by Thomas Ellwood. Ellwood, who in his autobiography discusses his part in the controversy, calls his opponent "an Episcopal Priest in Lincoln-

[9] *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh,* pp. 442, 466.

shire."[10] Neither Edward Fowler nor James Fleetwood answers that description. Perhaps Fleetwood is simply an error for Ellwood, whose name appears on the title page. The copy at Yale was presented by Elihu Yale, but is not now listed in the 1718 donation already mentioned. That list, however, is torn and some titles are lost.

The copy of George Fox's *Gospel Truth Demonstrated* (London, 1706) now in the Library is marked on p. 1 "J. W°. Cutler," and this agrees with an entry in the list of books sent by Jeremiah Dummer in 1712/13 under the name "Dr. Cutler":

> All the writings of George Fox the founder of the Quakers containing his letters to the Grand Seignior et ca[11]

I do not identify the donor. The reference to the letters to the Great Turk, as Fox calls him, without "flattering titles" — and there are three such pieces in the book — is probably made in ridicule.

So much for the Quakeriana that were in a sense charter members of Yale Library. No doubt other Quaker books with associative interest have come into the Yale Library since 1742. Ten years ago I saw, for example, among nearly seven hundred seventeenth-century Quaker pamphlets acquired then from England a copy of George Fox's *The Royal Law of God Revived* (1671/72) with the contemporary inscription "This Book was sent from George Fox to Peter Easton." Presumably this Easton was a member of the Quaker Rhode Island family. Peter like others was active in politics, in spite of troubles with the Indians. Fox's pamphlet emphasizes "that of God" in even the Gentiles and was appropriate in the time of King Philip's War. If the pamphlet ever reached America, it got back to England somehow and into the second-hand stock of Joseph Smith and Henry Stevens, successive London book dealers.

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[10] *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood,* ed. C. G. Crump, (1900), pp. 193 f.

[11] *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh,* p. 448.

JOHN CHURCHMAN, JR. OF NOTTINGHAM

By A. Day Bradley*

JOHN CHURCHMAN (1753-1805), surveyor, self-taught student of magnetic phenomena, and cartographer, was a birthright member of Nottingham Monthly Meeting. The Churchman family was long associated with the Nottingham community of Friends, established in 1701 by William Penn as a means of holding the lands in dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The "Nottingham Lots," as the Penn grants were called, consisted of about 20,000 acres, practically all of which became Maryland territory when the boundary was established by Mason and Dixon. Consequently the East Nottingham Meetinghouse, built about 1706 on land given by William Penn, is located at Calvert, Maryland.[1]

John Churchman (b. 1666), an emigrant from Saffron Walden, Essex, was one of the original Nottingham settlers. His son John Churchman (1705-1775) was the noted Quaker minister whose ministry is recorded in the *Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences of John Churchman.* George Churchman (1730-1814), the "Founding Father of Westtown," was the only child of John the minister.[2] George Churchman's oldest child was John, born Fifth Month 29, 1753 at Nottingham. This John Churchman, grandson of John the minister, and great-grandson of John the emigrant, is not infrequently confused with his grandfather and is sometimes called John Jr. or John the scientist.[3]

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[1] Kirk Brown in *Bi-Centennial of Brick Meeting-House* (Lancaster, 1902), pp. 30-82. The East Nottingham Meetinghouse is known locally as the "Brick." A. Day Bradley, "The Churchmans of Nottingham Lots," *Friends Intelligencer,* Sixth Month 28, 1952.

[2] An account of George Churchman's part in the founding of Westtown is given in "Letter from the Past" No. 101, *Friends Intelligencer,* Fifth Month 28, 1949. His unpublished journal has been discussed by Henry Cadbury in the *New England Quarterly,* XXIII (1950), 396-400.

[3] The writer's attention was directed to John Churchman by "The Son of Westtown's Father——Letter from the Past" No. 120, *Friends Intelligencer,* Twelfth Month 22, 1951.

Land surveying was a popular vocation in the Churchman family. Records of numerous surveys made by three generations of the Churchman family are preserved in the collection of Churchman papers made by the late Kirk Brown, now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[4] George Johnson in his *History of Cecil County* says that George Churchman was the most popular surveyor of the county and that his sons, John, Milcha, and Joseph were also surveyors.[5] Quite possibly his knowledge of surveying led John Jr. to further study of the properties of the magnetic needle. Perhaps some of his motivation came from observing the work of Mason and Dixon, since as a young lad of thirteen he may well have seen the Pennsylvania-Maryland line established through the original Churchman grant.

John Churchman's ambitions, both scientific and material, soon extended beyond the practice of surveying. Various records in the Kirk Brown Papers show that he was actively engaged in buying and selling land as well as other business ventures. On July 23, 1779, "Mr. Churchman gave in a memorial [to the American Philosophical Society] relative to a map of the peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, asking its examination and recommendation to publish." The Philosophical Society appointed an examining committee consisting of David Rittenhouse, John Lukens, John Ewing, Owen Biddle, and Dr. William Smith. The committee reported a month later that "we are of the opinion that he is possessed of sufficient materials . . . to construct an accurate map, and have no doubt but that he has executed his design with exactness and care, but cannot help expressing our desire of seeing the map laid down upon a much larger scale, which would render it more serviceable for promoting the Knowledge of Geography."[6]

Before approaching the American Philosophical Society John Churchman had signed an agreement with Daniel Few or Tew,

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[4] Hereafter cited as Kirk Brown Papers.

[5] *History of Cecil County, Maryland* (Elkton, Maryland, 1881), p. 525.

[6] "Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society . . .Compiled by the Secretaries from the Manuscript Minutes of its Meetings from 1744 to 1838," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XXII (1884), 103-104.

engraver, on June 30, 1779. The engraver was to receive £40 for preparing the copper plate, £30 to be paid in gold or silver and the balance in maps at 10s each.[7] Whatever the final conclusion concerning the sponsorship and scale, the map appeared in two editions on a scale of ten miles to the inch, and was inscribed:

> To the American Philosophical Society this Map of the Peninsula between Delaware and Chesopeak Bays with said Bays and Shores adjacent drawn from the most Accurate Survey is humbly inscribed by John Churchman.[8]

Churchman's map was reprinted in 1937 by the United States Geological Survey for the United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission with the title "Delaware at the Time of the Ratification of the Constitution."

In the meantime Churchman was active in various business ventures. In January 1785 he rented his tract of land on Octoraro Creek called the "Horseshoe" to Henry Till, reserving the use of a shop adjoining the dwelling.[9] About the same time he received £500 from the proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal for the right of cutting the canal through his land from Bald Friar to Love Island.[10] His most ambitious and probably least successful venture was a partnership with Samuel Hughes.

> In 1788, John Churchman, . . . who was the owner of large quantities of barren land, which he no doubt had purchased because he thought it contained valuable deposits of mineral, formed a partnership with Samuel Hughes, of Harford County, for the purpose of erecting a furnace and such other works as they might think necessary for the manufacture of iron, upon a tract of land containing 3,000 acres which was two-thirds of all the land owned by Churchman in Cecil, Chester and Lancaster counties . . . . Hughes was to furnish the capital for the enterprise, and Churchman was to be resident manager, the profits being equally divided between them. Nothing is known of the history of this enterprise, but the land records of the county show that

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[7] Kirk Brown Papers, p. 20.

[8] The editions are usually listed as 1786 and 1787, although no date appears on the originals.

[9] Kirk Brown Papers, p. 22. The tract was so named from the "Horseshoe Bend" in the Octoraro Creek.

[10] Ibid., p. 25.

the forge which was just below the Horseshoe Bend, was built some time previous to 1795.[11]

The outcome of this venture is probably not unrelated to a certain disciplinary action of Nottingham Monthly Meeting. On Sixth Month 30, 1787, Nottingham Monthly Meeting was informed by Nottingham Preparative Meeting that "John Churchman apprehending that his business may require his attendance at the City of London requests that a committee may be appointed to consider his case and if they think it necessary prepare a certificate for him." The committee was continued for some months and on Fourth Month 26, 1788 reported, "that they had had an opportunity with him, and that he informed them that he had given up to the Chancellor in Maryland which was done (as they suppose) in order to take the Benefit of the insolvent act." As the case appeared difficult it was referred for further consideration.[12] The committee continued to labor with John, both for his own benefit and that of his creditors. On Fourth Month 25, 1789 the committee again reported that they had had several opportunities with him and that "in years past he has widely deviated from the path of simplicity and got his mind afloat after great things and thereby launched out into Trade and Business far beyond his own foundation and pursuing uncertain prospects and high Imaginations more at the Risk of other people who gave him credit than at his own."[13] On Eighth Month 29, 1789, the testimony disowning John Churchman was produced, read, and signed by Jeremiah Brown.[14]

There is little direct evidence to indicate how the self-taught scientist was regarded by his family. George Churchman's journal makes no mention of his son's disownment. What appears to be the only reference to John in the extant volumes of his father's

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[11] Johnson, *History of Cecil County,* p. 381. An unsigned and undated copy of the agreement between Hughes and Churchman is included in the Kirk Brown Papers, p. 33.

[12] From the original minutes of Nottingham Monthly Meeting, Book D (1778-1792), p. 410.

[13] Ibid., p. 437.

[14] Ibid., pp. 453, 464. Jeremiah Brown (1750-1831) was a prominent member of Nottingham Monthly Meeting and later of Little Britain Monthly Meeting. In 1823 he built Penn Hill Meetinghouse and gave it to Little Britain Monthly Meeting.

journal is the following: "This evening [Seventh Month 31, 1796] my son John came to see me, after an absence of near three years and a half which he hath spent in Europe."[15] This statement is remarkable for its restraint since son John had become the second American member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in 1795. No doubt there was more concern in the Churchman family about membership in Nottingham Monthly Meeting than in foreign academies. In 1784 George Churchman, Jr. had been sent to live with his older brother John and a detailed statement, describing the duties and obligations of both brothers was drawn up and signed by all parties. It is entitled "Memorandum of a Proposal (for Trial) of a bargain concerning George Churchman, Jr. living with his brother John." His parents expressed "strong desires for his preservation from the Corruptions which attend the Spirit of the World" and required "diligent study and timely attendance at week day meetings as well as those on first day and for discipline." George Jr. was to be instructed in surveying, trigonometry, the method of plotting and casting up land, and the business of millering. The older brother was to pay the parents £5 per month.[16] Perhaps John used discretion in carrying out the prescribed routine; at any rate the only member of the Churchman family listed as a subscriber in the various editions of John's *Magnetic Atlas* is George Jr.

John Churchman's "mind was afloat" upon the study of magnetism as well as on business ventures. Included in the Kirk Brown Papers is a bond in the sum of £20,000, in Spanish milled dollars, signed by Ellis Chandlee, clockmaker, of East Nottingham and dated May 2, 1785. The purpose of this bond was to make certain that "Ellis Chandlee does always keep a secret and does not disclose same, the description of a machine invented by the said John Churchman and supposed to move perpetually by the principles of magnetism."[17] Nothing further seems to be known of this "invention," and as Chandlee stated that he did not know the principles involved, it was unlikely that the provisions of the bond were enforced.

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[15] Quoted in *Friends Intelligencer,* Twelfth Month 22, 1951. The manuscript journal of George Churchman is in the Haverford College Library.

[16] Original in Kirk Brown Papers, p. 109.

[17] Ibid., p. 104.

On February 16, 1787 Churchman presented a paper to the American Philosophical Society giving a new theory of the variation of the magnetic needle and proposing a method of finding the longitude at sea by observing the variation. The committee appointed by the Philosophical Society took the position that his theories were inconsistent with known principles and recorded observations.[18] Subsequently Churchman published "An Address to the members of the different learned Societies in America and Europe, in support of the Principles of Magnetic Variation and their application in determining the Longitude at Sea."[19] This was essentially a subjective attempt to justify his theory and refute the criticisms made against it. In 1790 Churchman published the first edition of his *Magnetic Atlas*.[20] This contains a map showing the magnetic variation for the whole globe and a further elaboration of his theories. Included in this edition is an account of his unsuccessful petition to Congress to send him on an expedition to Baffin Bay to make magnetic observations.

Churchman's attempt to solve the vexatious problem of finding the longitude at sea, although foredoomed to failure, was certainly not in the category of perpetual motion. The greatest problem of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century navigation was that of accurately determining the longitude. As early as 1662 Henry Bond had proposed the method of observing the variation of the compass and comparing it with that laid down on charts.[21] Actually this method was impractical because of the difficulties attending a precise determination of the variation and because of the change of the variation with time. The development of accurate ephemerides and the perfection of the marine chronometer made possible the determination of longitude by celestial observations. This latter method came into use gradually and in Churchman's time favorable consideration was still given to other methods. In the various editions of his *Magnetic Atlas* Churchman

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[18] *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XXII (1884), 148-51.

[19] *The American Museum or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces,* V (1789), 496-500.

[20] Philadelphia: Johnson and Johnson, 1790. The four editions of the *Magnetic Atlas* are listed at the end of this article.

[21] *The Sea-Man's Kalender . . . with the discovery of a way to find the long hidden Secret of Longitude* (London, 1662).

included a letter from Thomas Jefferson which states very clearly the difficulties of applying this method: "As far as we can conjecture it here, we imagine you make a Table of Variation of the Needle for all the different meridians whatever. . . . Suppose the variation to increase a degree in every 160 miles, two difficulties occur; 1st, a ready and accurate method of finding the variation of the place; 2d, an instrument so perfect that it shall give the part of a degree so minutely as to answer the purpose of the navigator."[22]

Churchman corresponded widely with various scientific societies in order to publicize his theories. His communications to the Imperial Russian Academy received the most favorable attention. A summary of his work was presented to the Academy in 1791 and the Director, Princess Dashkov, proposed that it should be considered for an award. The Academy, however, decided that Churchman's work was not sufficiently supported by observations.[23] On the 8th of January, 1795, Mr. John Churchman, "Physicien Américain" was elected a member of the Academy on the recommendation of the Princess.[24] Churchman thus became the second American member of the Russian Academy; Benjamin Franklin had been elected in 1789.

Churchman made two trips to Europe. The first is mentioned in his father's journal and extended from 1792 to 1796. It is said that this visit was made upon the invitation of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society.[25] Little appears to be known of

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[22] Letter dated at Paris, August 8, 1787.

[23] *Nova Acta Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae,* IX (1791), 16.

[24] Ibid., XIII (1795-96), 14. Churchman's election to the Academy has been noted by Eufrosina Dvoichenko-Markov in "The American Philosophical Society and Early Russian-American Relations," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XCIV (1950), 549-610.

[25] J. S. Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 498. The accounts of John Churchman in various biographical encyclopedias are evidently based on the account of Futhey and Cope and the writings of James Trimble. The Chester County Historical Society has a letter written by James Trimble to John Parker, Second Month 16, 1884, which gives a biographical sketch of John Churchman. Trimble's manuscript giving an account of many members of Nottingham Monthly Meeting is in the archives of Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

his activities on this trip, however. The course of his second trip may be traced by the letters in the fourth edition of the *Magnetic Atlas.*[26] On June 28, 1802 he received permission from the Royal Board of the Danish Admiralty to make observations on the *Seyeren,* commanded by Captain Snedorff. "On board of this ship, in consequence of a gracious invitation which the author received by direction of his Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, he afterwards sailed to Cronstadt on his way to Petersburgh on a voyage designed to exercise the noble cadets." Churchman must have arrived in Russia soon after his voyage on the *Seyeren,* for on October 2, 1802 he received an order for six hundred copies of his variation chart to be used in the Imperial Navy. He was to receive seven rubles per chart and a thousand rubles for paper. There appears to be no further information on his activities in Russia; the single entry concerning him in the proceedings of the Russian Academy, after the notice of his election, indicates merely that he presented a copy of his chart to the Academy in 1802.[27]

John Churchman arrived in London early in 1804. On February 22nd of that year he was elected to membership in the Royal Society of Arts, having been proposed by Charles Baldwin, Esq. He attended the meetings of the Committee of Polite Arts, which was concerned with maps and surveys as well as the fine arts.[28] He submitted an "Essay on the Improvement of Geography" to the Society, for which he received their silver medal.[29] Churchman's essay is a clear exposition of the advantages of using contours, lines joining points of equal elevation, as compared with other methods of indicating altitude on maps. He gives a complete description of the method of running a contour "with a good theodolite" as well as the method of plotting the contour on the map. His essay is illustrated by a survey "of a small lake and artificial mountain in the garden of His Excellency Count de Strogonoff near St. Petersburgh." In an historical review of cartographic

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[26] London, 1804.

[27] *Nova Acta,* XV (1799-1802).

[28] Information supplied by Margaret L. Clark, Librarian of the Royal Society of Arts.

[29] The essay and an account of the award of the medal are printed in the *Transactions of the Society Instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce,* XXII (1804), 221-229.

methods, Deetz says that contours were first introduced in connection with sea bed soundings by the Dutch surveyor Cruquius in 1729 and that their use as applied to surface forms in topography was first suggested by Laplace in 1816.[30] Churchman applies the method both to soundings and land elevations; his essay has every indication of originality. Certainly the method was little known in 1804 or he would not have received such recognition from the Royal Society of Arts, which was at this time much concerned with the improvement of cartography.

John Churchman sailed for home in the ship *William Murdock* but died at sea on July 17, 1805. It is supposed that his personal papers, including records of magnetic observations made in Russia, were lost on the voyage.[31] Unfortunately, his proposed method of finding the longitude was merely another chapter in a long series of unsuccessful attempts to determine longitude from the magnetic variation. His "Essay on the Improvement of Geography," however, was of substantial merit.

EDITIONS OF THE *MAGNETIC ATLAS*

The Magnetic Atlas or Variation Chart of the whole Terraqueous Globe, Comprising a System of the Variation and Dip of the Needle, by which the Observations being tryly made the Longitude may be ascertained.

Philadelphia: James and Johnson. 1790.
New York Public Library, Haverford College.

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London: Darton and Harvey. 1794.
Library of Congress, Franklin Institute.

———, The Third Edition with Additions, By John Churchman, Fellow of the Imperial Russian Academy.

New York: Gaines and Ten Eyck. 1800.
Chester County Historical Society, West Chester State Teachers College.

———, The Fourth Edition with considerable additions. By John Churchman, Sometime Surveyor General of Part of North America, Fellow of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences.

London: C. and R. Baldwin. 1804.
Library of the New York Engineering Societies.

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[30] C. H. Deetz, *Cartography*, Special Publication No. 205, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey (1936), p. 7.

[31] From the accounts by Futhey and Cope, and James Trimble.

Notes and Documents

AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF POLITICAL ACTION BY WOMEN

By Edwin B. Bronner*

The enjoyment of worldly amusements had long been frowned upon in Pennsylvania. The "Laws Agreed Upon in England," sometimes called the "Great Law," enacted by the assembly which met at Chester in December 1682, had condemned "stage plays, cards, dice, may-games, masques, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, bear-baitings and the like."[1] When Pennsylvania was seized by the Crown in 1692, and Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, was made Royal Governor of Pennsylvania, he repealed all the former laws. In 1693, however, the colonists persuaded Fletcher to re-enact most of the statues, including one entitled "The Law Against Rude Sports, Plays and Games."[2] This law was in force at the time the present petition was offered to the Grand Jury.

A session of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington, New Jersey, September, 1694, produced a statement in regard to rearing children, which condemned laying of wagers, wrestling, jesting or idle talk, and smoking in the streets, among other

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[1] Staughton George, et al., editors, *Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, Passed Between the Years 1682 and 1700* (Harrisburg, 1879), p. 103.

[2] Ibid., p. 197. The law stated in part: "whosoever shall introduce into this Province, or frequent such rude & riotous sports & practices, as prizes, stage plays, masques, revells, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, with such like, being convicted thereof, shall be Reputed and fined as Breakers of the peace and suffer at Least ten days Imprisonment at hard Labour in the house of correction, or forfeit twenty shillings . . . if any person be convicted of playing at cards, dice, lotteries, or such like enticing, vain & evil sports and games, such person shall for every such offence pay five shillings or suffer five days Imprisonment in the House of Correction at Hard Labour."

things. Parents were urged to keep their offspring away from the "Worlds corrupt Language, manners, & Vain needless Things & Fashions, in apparel."[3] Thus the petition below, denouncing the activities of children of Philadelphia, was based both upon the law of the province and the beliefs of the Society of Friends.

Petitions were drawn up by the colonists during the seventeenth century in regard to a number of things. Some condemned immorality in the plantation, as did the one under discussion. Others protested the adoption of a new constitution, the laying of taxes, or the lack of a suitable defense against attack by the French.[4] This particular petition was unique because it was signed by two Quaker women: Hannah Emlen and Elizabeth Ranstead.

There were few distinctions between men and women in the eyes of early Friends. William C. Braithwaite writes: "The equality of men and women in spiritual privilege and responsibility has always been one of the glories of Quakerism."[5] One of the earliest ministers among the followers of George Fox was Elizabeth Hooten, who had probably been a Baptist minister even earlier.[6] The earliest Quaker ministers to the New World were Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who sailed first to Barbados, and were jailed when they visited Boston.[7] Friends early organized Women's Meetings for the conduct of business and to supervise charitable activities, and they were considered to be at least comparable to Men's Meetings. Despite this evidence of the prominent position held by women in the Society of Friends in the seventeenth century, even the Quakers did not offer complete equality of the two sexes, although women had more freedom and responsibility among Friends than among other groups of the period.[8]

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[3] Minutes of the Yearly Meeting [Philadelphia], 1681-1746. Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

[4] See *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1852), I, passim.

[5] *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), p. 270.

[6] W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912), p. 44.

[7] Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), pp. 26-29.

[8] Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism,* pp. 286-288.

On the other hand, there were instances in which the spiritual qualities of some women were recognized to be greater than those of some men. When William and Jane Biles of Bucks County requested the approval of Friends to travel in the ministry to England, Jane Biles was granted permission almost immediately, but William Biles, prominent in the government and a leading Friend, did not receive the blessing of the Meeting of Ministers for many months.[9]

Outside the Society of Friends, women were considered to be completely inferior to men in the colonial period; they were granted few legal rights and no political rights.[10] It seems safe to assume that these women would not have presumed to sign a petition to the government if they had not been Friends, and living in Pennsylvania.

A note on the back of the petition, written by the clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions or by a member of the Grand Jury, complains that the boys not only gambled and lost their money, but then resorted to stealing in order to continue to participate in the games. The writer adds: "But when flecher [Benjamin Fletcher] was governor he Cummanded two Constables to goe about all first day which kept down much of such things, and wee think itt were well if it were so now and allso in ye weeke dayes [,] gaming is very hurtfull. . . ."

Below is an exact transcript of the petition:[11]

The Grand Jury ffor ye Court at Philadelphia

The Humble [crossed out] Adress of us whose Names are hereund^r^ written Humbly Sheweth [crossed out]

That the great rudeness & wildness of ye youth & Children of this Towne of philadelphia is of very Evill & Dangerous Consiquence, tending Onelly to Corrupt them in their Youth & Childhood, and to raise &

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[9] Minutes of the Yearly Meeting, and General Spring Meeting of Ministers, 1686-1719. Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

[10] See the following: Mary Sumner Benson, *Women in Eighteenth Century America* (New York, 1935); Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1920); Elisabeth A. Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs* (Boston, 1924); Eugene A. Hecker, *A Short History of Women's Rights* (New York, 1914); John Langdon-Davies, *A Short History of Women* (New York, 1927).

[11] Penn Letters and Ancient Documents Relating to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, II. American Philosophical Society.

strengthen that wicked spirit in them w^ch^ (is Enmity against God, w^ch^) if not p^re^vented will Increase to more ungodliness, and Bring Ruine & Destitution upon Body & Soule, But more Especially that Boyes & Youth of age to be Imployd in Some Servisable Buisoness in ye Creation, should apeare Daylie up & Down ye streets Gameing & Playeing for mony, W^ch^ wicked practis will Certainly be an Introduction unto many The Corrupting & Destructive Evillwards, w^ch^ tend to ye Dishonour of god, and ye great disparagment of ye Goverment, And may Justly provoke ye Lord to Laye som Remarkable Judgment upon all in Generall

The pmises Seriously Considered

Wee doe Earnestly Desire you of this Grand Jury may please p^re^sent these things to ye Court of Justices That ye Court in their wisdom may Consider and give forth some what, w^ch^ may be Instrumentall, to put a stopp, and p^re^vent ye further Increase & growth of these Corrupting Evill & wicked Courses, By Ini[j]oyning of parrents of children & Masters of Youth upon Som penalty to Endeavor, to doe what in them Lyeth to p^re^vent ye Same, and yt ye Youth & children of this Towne may be Educated in ye good Nurture & Admonition of ye Lord, That so when they are old they may not Depart from it, And that Parrents & masters of Youth and Children may be more & more Inclined to Deny all ungodlynes, and Leave off those wild, wicked, Corrupting & Destructive ways & practices, and to live a sober Righteous & godly life in this p^re^sent Evill world, w^ch^ will be an honour & great Credit to ye Goverment, And ye way to Bring a Blessing from ye God of heaven upon all

Especially upon ye first Dayes

Jno. Philley	Samuell Attkins
Jos. Ransted	Elyzabeth Ranstd
George Emlen	hanah Emlen
James Shattick	John Holt
Wm. Carter	John Linam
Tho. Whordon	Rees Potters
Tho. Griffitz	David Brintnall
Wm Lee	Joseph Wilcox
Ralph Jackson	Hugh Bawden[12]
John Busby	

[written on the back]
Sundry persons
Complaining agt
disorders of Youth
3 March 169⅝

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[12] Probably George and Hannah Emlen as well as Joseph and Elizabeth Ransted were husband and wife. More than half of the signers were Friends, but several undoubtedly were not. See William W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1938), II.

WHITTIER AND CLARKSON

BY C. MARSHALL TAYLOR *

One of the most popular books of the last century among Friends—*The Portraiture of Quakerism*—was written by a non-Quaker, Thomas Clarkson, who was in his own language "thrown frequently into the company of the people called Quakers . . . when I began to devote my labors to the abolition of the Slave-trade. . . . It seemed, therefore, from the circumstance of my familiar intercourse with the Quakers, that it devolved upon me particularly to write their history. . . . But though I am confessedly partial to the Quakers on account of their hospitality to me, and on account of the good traits in their moral character, I am not so much so as to be blind to their imperfections. Quakerism is of itself a pure system; and, if followed closely, will lead toward purity and perfection."[1]

In many ways Clarkson gave the most complete survey that has ever been made and published by one person. To give an idea of how wide his coverage was, it is only necessary to enumerate the chapter headings: Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religion, Great Tenets, Character, Miscellaneous Particulars. One interesting comment in the last chapter is the query, "Does not a man who devotes his time to the instruction of youth, deserve to be made as comfortable as the man who sells silver utensils, or bracelets, or ear-rings, or articles of trade? Is there any profession more useful than that which forms the youthful mind? or rather, is it not the most important profession in the state?"

In the early 1870's apparently Friends were taking inventory of the state of the Society. In some areas reprints of the complete *Portraiture* were made, but in New England it was arranged to reprint only the chapter on "The Religion of the Society of Friends." This was published by S. G. Jones and Company of Boston in 1876.

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* Collector and student of Whittier, C. Marshall Taylor is a Vice-President of Friends Historical Association.

[1] Excerpts from the Introduction to *A Portraiture of Quakerism,* by Thomas Clarkson, M.A. (My copy published in Indianapolis by Merrill & Freed, for the Society of Friends of Western Yearly Meeting, 1870.)

No doubt Whittier had a prominent part in this move. It has just come to light that the preface to the Boston 1876 issue was undoubtedly written though not signed by Whittier. Proof of this fact comes from the finding of the original manuscript in Whittier's handwriting, in his purple ink and with his corrections as later incorporated in the printed edition.[2]

The Preface reads as follows:

Under a profound conviction of the vital importance of the principles herein set forth, and, with an earnest desire that they may be more fully appreciated and maintained by members of our religious society, it has been deemed advisable by the Trustees of the "Obadiah Brown Benevolent Fund" to republish in a form convenient for circulation, the following pages from the elaborate treatise entitled "A Portraiture of Quakerism," by the author of the "History of the Slave-Trade" and the "Memoirs of William Penn."

Of Thomas Clarkson, the writer so widely known by his successful labors for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, it is, perhaps, safe to say that no man, not a member of the Society of Friends, ever enjoyed more ample opportunities for a thorough comprehension of its principles and practice. During a long life, devoted to works of Christian benevolence, he was closely associated with members of our Religious Society, in whom he everywhere found his readiest and most reliable co-laborers. He was naturally led to trace the stream back to its fountain, to inquire into the faith which so manifested itself in works of practical righteousness. He had the faculty of seeing clearly and describing accurately the things seen; and his scrupulous truthfulness, patient and conscientious research, and, above all, his own deep religious experience, which, if outside of the Society whose faith he describes, was yet in close sympathy with it, fitted him in an especial manner for the task of delineating the underlying principles of that body and their outgrowth of practice.

As the result of a rare combination of intellectual and moral qualities, and a closer acquaintance than that of any other distinguished civilian of his time with the outward activities, and inward and spiritual life of its weightiest and worthiest members, his "Portraiture" has always been regarded by the Society, and by the world at large, as a delineation alike remarkable for ability and general accuracy.

The present is a time of religious interest and awakening; and it is believed that this pamphlet may be found useful in furnishing a satisfactory answer to honest inquiries as to the views of our Society, and in presenting the ground of our belief, that its leading and distinctive principle, which finds a witness for itself in every heart, may yet come to be regarded by professors of other denominations, as the strongest position of our common faith, against the materialistic tendencies of the age in which we live.

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[2] The manuscript is now in the possession of Mr. P. D. Howe of Needham, Massachusetts.

A QUAKER LIBRARIAN IN JAMES JOYCE'S *ULYSSES*

BY GERHARD FRIEDRICH*

It is little known that James Joyce, in his novel *Ulysses,* added to the long list of Quaker characters in non-Quaker literature the striking dual caricature of a Quaker and a librarian named Lyster, who is attributed to the National Library in Dublin in 1904.

"Quakerlyster" plays an interesting minor role in the book.[1] As the hero, Stephen Dedalus, and some literary friends are theorizing during a library visit about Shakespeare and his plays, he listens to them and enters into the discussion, but is repeatedly called away by an attendant to assist various patrons. The figure he cuts is humorously memorable: his meek auk's egg head is almost bald, and perhaps largely for that reason endowed with a benign forehead; appropriately large-eared, low-voiced, and "softcreak-footed," he tiptoes, corantoes, or proceeds in a galliard rather than walks. That he is felicitous, friendly and earnest, dutiful, zealous and assiduous, seems to be to his credit both as a Quaker and a librarian, but one is made to feel that leading the way—however briskly and volubly—to all the provincial papers, is not a very vital and meaningful occupation. There is indeed something fatuous in the Quaker librarian's smiling on all sides equally (Joyce suggests a distinction between courtesy and the Inner Light). Moreover, this "most fair, most kind, most honest broadbrim" wears a blushing mask of primness. In his innocent idealism he is alarmed at the notion that Shakespeare's wife may have been unfaithful to her poet-husband, though he finds this view too illuminating and instructive. His hunger for human perfection is such that he resists historical facts and interpretations which simply "ought not to have been," and ponders instead what might have been but actually was not. Thus his analysis of life creaks; his comforting of others appears to be little more than an urbane

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* Gerhard Friedrich is Assistant Professor of English at Haverford College.

[1] See James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York, 1934), pp. 182-212, on which the following summary is based, except where otherwise indicated.

purring or a plastering of blisters.[2] Certainly, "tiptoeing up nearer heaven by the altitude of a chopine," he breathes too readily the spirit of reconciliation. And yet, despite all his Quaker-gray limitations, and in the midst of burlesque, the following brief statement put into the Quaker's mouth has an authentic, profound, genuine ring: "He is our friend. I need not mention names. Seek thou the light."[3] It may then be doubted that he is himself intended only as a "beautiful ineffectual dreamer who comes to grief against hard facts."

Incidentally, in connection with Quaker librarian Lyster, George Fox is introduced as "Christfox in leather trews," and there is a brief, somewhat speculative reference concerning his relation to women—in terms, on the one hand, of fox and vixen, and on the other, of fox and geese.[4]

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[2] Ibid., p. 583.
[3] Ibid., p. 498.
[4] Ibid., p. 191.

Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing regularly in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Walter Forrest Altman, 502 North Duval Street, Tallahassee, Florida. John Woolman's Mysticism. (A study of the influence of Fénelon, Thomas à Kempis, and others.) Florida State University: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research begun.

Harvey Buchanan, 10709 Rosehill Road, Cleveland 4, Ohio. Quakerism in Italy. (A study of Jerocades' *Pulcinella da Quacchero* and Magnasco's painting *Predica dei Quaccheri.)* Research completed; writing begun.

Helen L. J. Chisholm, Old Saybrook, Connecticut. Prudence Crandall: A Narrative Tale.

W. Alan Cole, 4 North Terrace, Cambridge, England. Development of Quaker Political Ideas, 1647-1660. (An attempt to reconstruct Quaker attitudes to the seventeenth-century revolutionary movement, relations with Levellers, Fifth Monarchists, etc.) Cambridge University; thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1954.

Maurice Creasey, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham, England. The Christology of the Early Friends with Special Reference to Isaac Penington. University of Leeds.

Leif S. Eeg-Olofsson, St. Algatan 6, Lund, Sweden. The Inner Light in Robert Barclay's Theology. University of Lund; thesis for D.D. degree, 1953. In press.

Anthony N. B. Garvan, Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. The Urban Practice of the Penn Proprietary. (Quaker esthetics, business practice, and town design in an American environment.) Research begun.

Philip C. Gifford, 638 Hospital Trust Building, 15 Westminster Street, Providence 3, Rhode Island. The First Providence Friends Meetinghouse. (The building of the meetinghouse in 1703 and its history during the first fifty years.)

Paul M. James, Beech Lawn, Mottram Road, Stalybridge, Cheshire, England. Cromwell and the Quakers; An Historical Dissertation. (Discusses the genuine religious character of Cromwell and his partial affinity to the Quakers, but shows why, besides sympathy, mutual hostility marked their relations.) University College, University of Wales: History, thesis for B.A. degree, 1952.

T. Canby Jones, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham, England. The Person of Christ in the Message of George Fox and the Relation of His Message to Contemporary Puritanism and to Present-Day Neo-Protestant Thought. Yale University.

Clifford Lewis, Jr., 240 South 4th Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania. Descendants of the William Penn Treaty Elm.

Maurice A. Mook, Department of Sociology, Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania. (1) The Quakerism of Sir Francis Galton. (2) Two Quaker Contributions to Psychology—John Dalton and Thomas Young. (3) Five Quaker Anthropologists (J. C. Prichard, William Pengelly, Henry Christy, E. B. Tylor, and Pliny Earle Goddard).

William T. Reedy, Jr., 589 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut. The Muggletonians. Yale University: History, thesis for B.A. degree, 1954.

Joseph S. Sickler, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. John Fenwick, Quaker Governor. (An objective study of Fenwick's colony, Salem, West New Jersey, 1675-1683.) Completed.

Marie Strong, 601 Chestnut, Anderson, Indiana. The Quakers' Contribution to Lay Religion. University of Chicago: Church History, thesis for A.M. degree, 1953.

Mack E. Thompson, 281 Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island. Moses Brown: Man of Public Responsibility. Brown University: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Robert Whitney Tucker, Jr., Dunster C-11, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. Theory of Expression in Quakerism. (With reference to Protestant and Catholic metaphysics and to the stylistic traditions in seventeenth-century England.) Harvard College: History and Literature, thesis for A.B. degree, 1954.

Winifred M. White, 65 St. Mildreds Road, Lee, London, S.E. 12, England. Christian Contributions to the Treatment of Mental Illness. Nottingham University: Theology, thesis for B.A. degree.

Edward E. Wildman, 409 East Second Street, Moorestown, New Jersey. Correspondence of John Bartram. (Letters to and from Bartram, including his descriptions of about thirty American trees—the first ever written by a native American.) To be published in 1954 by the American Philosophical Society.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

The Annual Meeting of Friends Historical Association was held on November 30, 1953 in the Arch Street Meetinghouse in Philadelphia. The Treasurer's report was heard and approved. A special minute of appreciation was recorded for the careful and conscientious work of our Treasurer, William Mintzer Wills. Four of the five Directors whose terms expired in 1953 were renominated. It was announced that Edward Woolman had asked to be released after many years on the Board of Directors and the Finance Committee. The Secretary was asked to express the Association's appreciation of his long and valuable services. Lyman W. Riley was nominated to fill Edward Woolman's place on the Board. The five nominees were elected for a term of three years. Deep appreciation was expressed for the devoted service of Lydia F. Gummere, who has been the Association's Curator for many years and who has now asked to be released. Katharine W. Elkinton will replace her.

President Henry J. Cadbury briefly reviewed the year's activities of the Association and then introduced the speaker for the occasion, George A. Walton. His subject was "Jesse Kersey's *Narrative,* 1851." From the *Narrative* itself and from the letters of his great-grandfather, Joseph S. Walton, the speaker reconstructed some of the tribulations and vicissitudes in the life of a Quaker minister in the early part of the nineteenth century. After the address refreshments were served in the East Room, and members and their guests had an opportunity to see the Association's historical exhibits, formerly in the Old City Hall in Independence Square, but now appropriately housed in this historic meetinghouse.

From Quaker Libraries

A recent addition to the Quaker manuscripts in the Haverford College Library was a collection of the papers of William H. S. Wood (1840-1907). In 1881 this New York Friend announced his desire to collect material relating to Friends and

the Civil War, and asked that information be sent to him in regard to the experiences of individuals or groups during the conflict. The collection is composed of various letters he received in response to this appeal; copies of extracts from the minutes of the Meetings for Sufferings of the northern Yearly Meetings; extracts from the letters and diary of John B. Crenshaw; miscellaneous printed and manuscript material. The collection came to Haverford as the gift of Arnold Wood, Jr., of Locust, New Jersey.

Another valuable addition to the Haverford Quaker Collection was a five-page letter written by Elias Hicks to Edwin A. Atlee, dated Jericho, Ninth Month 27, 1824. In this letter Hicks describes an interview he has just had with Anna Braithwaite.

* * *

A small collection of letters from Elias Hicks to John Comly, Hugh and Susanna Judge, and Rachel Hunt has recently been presented to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. Twelve manuscripts of Mary and William Howitt have been added to the small collection of their letters in the library. Addressed to her publishers, to Miss Acton, Mrs. Hall, and others, these letters relate to her work, to mesmerism, to the Ohio floods, and the death of her sister. In one of the letters she writes to Miss Acton, "My publishers dish is not worth sending you as it consists of stewed authors brains & marrow." A notable group of letters of Anna Braithwaite (1788-1859), English Quaker minister who visited America, is now deposited in the library on microfilm through the courtesy of a member of the Braithwaite family in England.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the year Eleventh Month 14, 1952
to Eleventh Month 16, 1953

RECEIPTS

Dues received:		
Current	$1,803.00	
Arrears	93.00	
Advance	27.00	
Life Membership	75.00	
		$1,998.00
Bulletins and royalties		401.18
Income from investments		275.50
Gifts		256.00
		2,930.68
Cash balance from 1951-52		2,285.67
Total receipts		$5,216.35

DISBURSEMENTS

Annual Meeting, 1952	122.00	
Annual Meeting, 1953	17.00	
		139.00
Spring Meeting, 1953		22.25
Bulletin (two issues)		1,271.70
Editor's fee for *Bulletin*		300.00
Five-year Index (printing)		425.00
Editor's fee (for Index)		100.00
Index and catalog of Swarthmore Manuscripts		150.00
Memorial Tree (Lucretia Mott)		60.00
Investments		361.95
Miscellaneous		304.53
Total disbursements		$3,134.43
Cash balance on deposit with the Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank		$2,081.92
Reserved for Publication Fund	$ 175.00	
Reserved for Current Expenses	1,906.92	
	$2,081.92	

WILLIAM MINTZER WILLS, *Treasurer*

Examined and found correct
RICHMOND P. MILLER
EDWARD R. MOON
(Auditors)

Book Reviews

The Man In Leather Breeches: The Life and Times of George Fox. By Vernon Noble. New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. 295 pages. $6.00.

TO write a life of George Fox is a courageous undertaking which few persons have ever ventured. The fact that he left a journal of his own may be in itself a deterrent and this material with its mass of details and omissions together with the multitudinous but unmanageable other data would give any biographer pause. Vernon Noble fortunately is an experienced and skillful writer and is willing not to try to include everything. Eight of his twenty-two chapters are not biography of Fox at all but are fully justified by the term "times" in the title. For if Fox "dominated Quakerism as long as he lived," the aspects of Quakerism discussed in the chapters on Nayler, Penn, and Quaker missions overseas are important background for Fox himself. Furthermore, the biographer has chosen some very good guides, especially the two remarkably objective and accurate volumes of W. C. Braithwaite. His indebtedness to these is greater than appears, including what he quotes from older works. Of more recent works I find traces of a few, like Fogelklou's *James Nayler,* Isabel Ross's *Margaret Fell,* and Ernest Taylor's *Valiant Sixty.* Quotations are not given page references, and errors in sources are usually repeated. There is very little evidence of independent inquiry, though direct quotation from the pamphlet literature of Fox's time was facilitated by the author's access to one of the better local collections of such material — the Midgley Reference Library in Manchester.

The purpose of the book was not, however, very ambitious. Assuming that Fox was sufficiently known among Friends, the author believed that he was too little known among others and that he was an Englishman of whom later generations might be proud. He sets out the salient facts of Fox's life with a very high degree of accuracy. This in itself is an achievement for the non-specialist, and is, as I have said, due to his careful adherence to the *Journal* of Fox and to sound modern books. The proportion is good for such a volume, and historical background is effectively used.

In his judgment of Fox, the author aims to be quite fair. Some questions puzzle him—why Fox was so admired by his friends, why so condemned by his enemies, why he allowed or encouraged fanatical excesses among his followers, why he took such notice of disasters that befell his opponents, and even why he married Widow Fell. Quaker readers are likely to be sensitive to any word of apparent criticism but they will have to admit that a substantial amount of discriminating approval has been intermingled. Here is a quotation from the first paragraph:

> He was a dreamer and a man of action, his head in the clouds and his feet firmly fixed on the ground; a prophet and a visionary and yet a man of tremendous organising ability, never at a loss for words or puzzled about the right thing to do in any situation; an egotist but only insomuch as he considered himself a spokesman for God. Buffeted and beaten with sticks and stones on innumerable occasions,

thrown into some of the worst prisons the country has ever known, he hit back only with his tongue and his powerful personality and yet subdued his adversaries and enabled his movement to survive all persecutions.

Or again:

One may think of George Fox as a prig, a bigot, a crank, a religious fanatic, conceited, intolerant, ridiculous, but one must also admit that there must have been something extraordinarily attractive about him to bring out the sacrifice and devotion of such an assorted company. If he were to be judged entirely on his own writings it would be easy to appreciate the reasons for respect but hard to find why he was so greatly loved. Now we can begin to see him through other people's eyes (p. 76).

The minor testimonies of Friends the author regards as niggling and unfortunate and yet he recognizes their relation to conscientiousness and to a consistent and exalted view of religion. Fox's strong points are for Vernon Noble his capacity for friendship and his earthy good sense. His achievements were his promotion of religious toleration and his skill in organizing a durable Society of Friends.

It is possible that Friends themselves could give the subject no fairer treatment, for judgments about historical characters are difficult to make without undue influence from the tastes or standards of our own time. Even in the well-known controversy about the relations of Fox to Nayler do not both persons deserve some allowance on this score and not merely one or the other of them? Mr. Noble follows the current style of exonerating Nayler more than Fox. One may, of course, ask whether Fox's own *Journal,* the principal source for character study, is to be taken as decisive in present-day judgment about him, either favorable or unfavorable. When he reports his remarkable successes and providential escapes perhaps his modern admirers take him too literally and his modern critics set it all down to egotism. If he reports bold answers to priests and judges the modern reader can recognize them as either clever or as uningratiating and unnecessarily hostile. The Quaker reader of such a book ought not to expect an altogether rosy portrait of their founder. Perhaps he would find other features to praise, and, if honest, others also to blame. One phase of Fox this book does not attempt to evaluate: the current validity of his religious position. But here too Quaker scholars have yet to give us a really discriminating analysis.

This book was published previously at London for half the price (by Elek at 21s). It was preceded by a play of the same title over the B.B.C. of which the author is a staff member. It has a remarkably good index and seven illustrations.

Harvard University HENRY J. CADBURY

George Logan of Philadelphia. By Frederick B. Tolles. New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. xx, 362 pages. $5.00

The biographer of George Logan essayed a difficult task because his subject lived his life tossed about by emotional storms conditioned by ill-health and deep-seated maladjustment. His constitutional nervous imbalance was probably exaggerated by the fact that his impressionable

years were made unhappy by two bullying schoolmasters. The biographical problem, therefore, is the difficult one of depicting instability.

George Logan was born to the Quaker purple. His grandfather, James Logan, close associate of William Penn, had builded his mansion, Stenton, in the midst of a prosperous countryside. His son, William, had married Hannah Emlen, of another prominent family of the Friends. By Philadelphia's high standards, the heir to Stenton had every advantage, except a strong constitution.

It was one of the fashions of the day that young men of wealth be sent to England for their education, so George crossed the sea to go to school at Worcester. This was an unfortunate move and after two years wasted or worse, under a difficult schoolmaster, the lad was allowed to come home. In Philadelphia, at the age of seventeen, he was apprenticed to a wealthy merchant. This experience was frustrating because he wanted to be a physician, yet since his older brother was of this profession, the family forbade him to follow his bent. However, it was not to be a permanent ban, for his brother soon died and at length in 1775, George Logan was permitted to go back to Europe to study medicine. He matriculated at Edinburgh and spent the Revolutionary years at that University, evincing little interest in the fortunes of the conflict at home.

Finishing at Edinburgh, he went to Paris and for a while was associated with Franklin. Under the benign influence of the great philosopher, he acquired belated enthusiasm for the Patriot cause. Then he returned to his homeland in 1780. His father had died four years before and Stenton was now his but it was a decayed and desolate estate and his fortune, besides, was a heap of depreciated paper money. So he set himself to practice medicine in Philadelphia. He entered into public affairs as a Logan should, and he married Deborah Norris, daughter of another prominent Quaker family. She was to be a strong and helpful wife who supplied a great store of the stability he lacked and could give him with loyal generosity so much of what he needed.

The young physician soon tired of medicine and Philadelphia, or perhaps it would be fairer to say that the call of his family estate was strong. He became eager to restore Stenton as a home and a farm, and also probably to become more secure against inflation. At any rate, in 1783, he returned and remained an enthusiastic farmer for the almost forty years of life yet remaining to him. This life at Stenton was to be his one consistency. He gave his talents to the task of making his estate a model farm and in this he had the invaluable partnership of Deborah. She it was who remained always at her post and enabled her husband to enjoy a most extensive and varied political experience.

This political career came naturally, for, master of Stenton and a Logan he was one to whom the local farm folk looked for leadership. He was soon in the Pennsylvania legislature and worked with conservative associates against the radicals and eventually for the ratification of the Federal Constitution. However, no sooner was this in effect than he began to have fears and quickly saw Hamilton, the stock jobbers and the merchants in

general, as the foes to agrarian prosperity and security. Also he broke with the leading Quakers, ceased to attend meeting, and was at length disowned by the Society. He worked hard for the election of Jefferson and shared his triumph by entering the Senate in 1801.

In the meantime, his name had become notorious for an ill-starred effort to interfere in Federalist diplomacy. He assumed a one-man diplomatic mission to maintain peace with France in the hectic days of 1798, an impulse which accomplished as little as it contained wisdom. Again in the Senate, this same "difficult" temperament caused him to find it more and more impossible to work in party harness and he became prominent in a dissenting minority of the Pennsylvania Republican party. This led to his failure to be even considered for re-election to the national legislature. He ended his active political career with another ill-starred trip to Europe, this time to try to insure peace with Great Britain.

This story of high idealism, nervous instability, ill-health and unselfish if something quixotic devotion to causes is told with great sympathy and skill. The author is as nicely balanced in judgment as his subject was unstable. He has a clear understanding of Logan and a style of writing which is enviable. He understands the environment and genealogy, spiritual and physical, which produced Logan. He can comprehend and describe both strength and weakness and make the difficult combination fuse in a convincing personality. In his portrait, light and shadow are skillfully employed to give the true perspective so necessary for the portrayal of this elusive figure. And then we have Deborah Logan to make the story really complete.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

For More Than Bread. By Clarence E. Pickett, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1953. 433 pages. $5.00.

When asked by an English Friend how the American Friends Service Committee managed to find so many very able people to direct its projects, Clarence Pickett replied that men of ability were not interested in running a peanut stand. Clarence Pickett's "autobiographical account of twenty-two years' work with the American Friends Service Committee" is an elaboration of that short answer. The Committee—and he as its chief executive officer—have looked searchingly at a lot of the world's uglier facets and have tried to work out answers as courageous as the situations have been daunting. The Committee has been neither small nor timorous in its approach. With modesty Clarence Pickett sketches the ways in which the Service Committee has faced some of the tremendous challenges of the times—unemployment, refugees, war distress, post-war demoralization, racial prejudice, the conscription of conscience, mental sickness, the bankruptcy of power politics, the spiritual hunger in high places, young idealism hankering for understanding and the opportunity to gain it by simple service. The picture that emerges is not of an organization plunging

about in sentimental search for spectacular good works, but of a body of men and women, shrewdly and wisely led, seeking before God for penetrating answers to conditions whose existence is a tribute to the power of the Devil. The scale of the operations is relatively small: so was most of the service described in the New Testament.

The account that Clarence Pickett gives does not amount to a success story. The world is a more cruel place today than it was when this story begins; the minds of men are more deeply divided; the sights of the politicians less lofty; the godly about as ineffective. But Clarence Pickett has led his fellow-workers ahead, undismayed and sometimes achieving the seemingly impossible. This book throws light on how he has done it. Three gifts stand out. The first is his capacity to stand up to a challenge and work through to an answer, a capacity rooted perhaps in his early experience of family life on a debt-laden Kansas farmstead where there was no turning aside from central issues. This involves having a policy, seeing in advance things that are going to happen, and taking the initiative. Twentieth-century Friends are not always very good at this. They tend to interpret waiting for guidance as an alternative to working out a policy. Clarence Pickett's attitude shone out from his answer when he was asked, on a visit to England toward the end of the second World War, for what special purpose he had come over. He said that British Friends had been living side by side with imperialist national policy for a good many generations; he wanted to study how it had been done since it looked as if American Friends were about to embark on a similar experience. Clarence Pickett's second gift is his capacity to keep a wide-ranging mind and eye; he knows everybody and something about most things—and well outside conventional Quaker circles. In consequence, he was quickly at the heart of matters. Thirdly, he has had the capacity to see detail against the backcloth of eternity. Again and again, he shows how a bit of work is related to far-reaching spiritual needs; at no point is the reader left asking: "So what?"

Clarence Pickett is unfailing in his generosity to those with whom he has worked, from the Mennonites to Mrs. Roosevelt, from "The Joint" to British Friends, and to everybody else within and without that considerable range.

Keynsham, Somerset, England ROGER WILSON

Under Quaker Appointment: The Life of Jane P. Rushmore. By Emily Cooper Johnson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1953. 211 pages. $3.00.

Not since Margaret Fell Fox has any one woman Friend wielded greater influence in guiding the destinies of Friends than Jane P. Rushmore. In fact, there are many points of analogy between these two Quaker women leaders, except that Jane never took on the problem of direct management of an already powerful Quaker leader like George Fox. On the other hand,

no one can read this volume without recognizing the comforting companionship of Emma Wallace, starting at a very early date and continuing as it does today in full bloom.

We are grateful to Emily Cooper Johnson for devoting so much time and effort in portraying the life of Jane Rushmore and at the same time recording the progress of the Hicksite group of Friends. Never before have the detailed activities of liberal Friends been reviewed so completely. Recent Quaker historians have not been members of the Friends General Conference, and consequently many of the accomplishments of this group have remained unpublished.

This splendid biography is a fitting tribute and a grateful acknowledgement of the many varied services rendered to our Society by Jane Rushmore, and as the story unfolds, the reader is reminded of many other Friends who have played their individual parts in this same field. Many of these were honored some years ago in *Quaker Torch Bearers* (1943), published by the Friends General Conference.

One naturally gives great thanks for the Providence that placed Jane Rushmore where she found such a fertile field, was able to do so much, and yet, at the same time, continually refrained from assuming full generalship of the movement with which she was so intimately associated. This quality alone reveals her real greatness. Never can it be said of her that the undoubted power she had over the group was ever used unwisely.

At the time of her eightieth birthday party, I wired the Committee: "Greetings to Jane Rushmore from New York whence she came. She should be awarded a distinguished service medal for the way she has upheld the torch of liberal Quakerism and for the way she has handled Philadelphia Quakers all these years." Now, ten years later, something much more fitting and enduring than medals, certainly more Friendly, is published in her honor, revealing much that has never before been recorded, thus making this volume both a biography and an historical record of the Hicksite group of Friends.

New York City C. MARSHALL TAYLOR

Quakers and Education: As Seen in Their Schools in England. By W. A. Campbell Stewart. London: The Epworth Press. 1953. ix, 310 pages. 30 shillings.

Although himself not a member, Campbell Stewart evidences a wide comprehension of the beliefs and practices of Friends. His analysis of the application of those principles to education is to be commended for depth of insight. The book is a scholarly piece of work, thoroughly done, but in the author's words, "is not a piece of original, historical research." The lesser bits of research are skillfully blended with adequate annotations, however, so that one does not get an indigestible mince-pie effect.

Stewart first traces Quaker beginnings in seventeenth-century England, then launches into his subject proper. After getting the Friends'

schools in England firmly established, he covers the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the areas of cost, staffing, curriculum, school government, punishment, "guarded" education, and co-education. The next to last chapter carries the story from 1918 to the present time and touches on all the above-mentioned areas.

This method of presentation enables one to refer easily to a particular aspect of Friends' education in England, but unfortunately (for this reviewer) makes the volume less readable than might otherwise be the case. It is hoped this does not interfere with others' enjoyment of the book, for it is well worth careful reading.

Individuals interested in present-day Friends' education will find a fund of background data affording considerable insight into many current Quaker school practices. Several of the American Quaker secondary schools have their roots in the English experience. The fact that the reviewer is directly associated with one of these institutions made the reading of this volume doubly interesting. For one who is looking for answers to the question, "How did we get this way?" Stewart has much documentary evidence. The traditional Friends' attitude toward music, for instance, has only changed by slow degrees. In the 1830's "whistling was considered next door to swearing." Even by 1880 many still felt that training in music would corrupt the meeting for worship. However, English Friends' schools mostly included it in their curricula soon after this time.

Other aspects of the "guarded" education are equally well covered. The Puritan mind had crept into Quaker thought and practice near the beginning. Gradually during the nineteenth century school officials relaxed the severity of their discipline on such items as speech and dress. Students were allowed more freedom in contact with other young people their own age. Virtue does not consist in having never been tempted but in overcoming temptations that naturally come to us.

Friends Boarding School,
Barnesville, Ohio

MORRIS L. KIRK

Woodbrooke, 1903-1953. A Brief History of a Quaker Experiment in Religious Education. Edited by Robert Davis. London: The Bannisdale Press, 1953. 191 pages. 10s. 6d.

Every old Woodbrooker will discover upon reading this Jubilee publication that his particular experiences while a student at Woodbrooke are vividly recalled to memory. The first four chapters are written by Herbert G. Wood. They deal with the origins of Woodbrooke; the personality and contributions, both intellectual and spiritual, of J. Rendel Harris, its first Director of Studies; and the development of the life and spirit of this "place where, it is hoped, Friends and those associated with them may have the opportunity of more fully qualifying themselves, spiritually, intellectually and experimentally for any service to which they feel called." H. G. Wood tells also of the difficulties experienced at

Woodbrooke during the first World War and the ways in which these were met and overcome. One is impressed by the fortitude and adaptability of students, lecturers, and staff during this war period. Also during this time the decision was made to add to the established courses on Bible Study, Church and Quaker History, and Economics, a course on "The Christian in his Relation to Modern Social and International Problems."

The remaining ten chapters of this 191-page book were each written by a different individual. This variety of authorship has resulted in some repetition of historic events, especially relating to the establishment and work of the Selly Oak Colleges. However, the variety in style and emphasis, which is inevitable when so many authors are involved, gives an added interest, especially as these writers are well-known and loved by many old Woodbrookers.

The book is of interest not only to those who have been privileged to spend some time at Woodbrooke but it has value for all who from time to time feel the need to withdraw to some place where, in a homelike environment with friendly persons of both sexes and various nationalities, one can seek through prayer, meditation, study, work, and play to find the reality of a God of love, in whose service is found the enduring incentive to a happy and fruitful life.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania ANNA GRISCOM ELKINTON

The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society. By Edward Deming Andrews. New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. xvi, 309 pages. $6.00.

"If I had never known the faith of the Quakers, I might have been more satisfied with the faith of the Shakers," wrote Thomas Brown, by turns a Quaker, Methodist, Shaker and apostate, in 1812. Friends will be interested in this story not because the Wardleys, who converted Mother Ann Lee, had been Friends, or because a few Friends later joined, but because of common characteristics in the two religious societies: the "peculiar" testimonies of peace, unity, and simplicity; dependence on the gift of the Spirit to any believer; faith in the possibility of a divine-human society—even similar patterns of growth and decay.

What enabled the faith of the eight who landed at New York in 1774 to spread to 6,000 by the 1850's? In the period of maximum diaspora, individualism, and awakening to the "menace" of industrial enterprise, Shakerism offered a settled, communal order based on farming and handicrafts. To rugged Protestants it offered monasticism and ceremonialism in their own vernacular. In a period of active adventism, the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (in the person of Mother Ann) pointed to an accomplishment rather than a hope.

Thirty years' sympathetic study, not only in Shaker sources but in those of related movements, has enabled Edward Andrews to produce this marvel of brevity and balance. In ninety pages he narrates developments to 1830;

in a hundred and thirty he describes the whole Society at its height; then summarizes reasons for its decline. Appended are the hitherto unpublished "Millennial Laws" of 1845, an estimate of Shaker population, a selected bibliography (omitting the author's other works), and a careful index. This undocumented but reliable account sacrifices the individuality of each Family and the dynamics of later periods for the sake of a general, topical picture. The discussion of basic tenets is underdeveloped. The thirty-three contemporary illustrations are unidentified. There is more to be written about Shakers, but few will write so well.

Earlham College THOMAS BASSETT

The Sea-Hunters: The New England Whalemen During Two Centuries, 1635-1835. By Edouard A. Stackpole. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1953. 510 pages. $7.50.

For two centuries whaling was largely a Quaker enterprise. In 1775, one learns from Edouard Stackpole's *Sea-Hunters,* 128 out of 132 vessels engaged in the industry were Quaker-owned. The beadroll of their skippers—Gardners, Husseys, Rotches, Barneys, Swains, Macys, Rodmans, Coffins, Folgers—reads like the membership list of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. One wonders what it meant to the life of the meeting to have its weightiest members, its "pillar Friends," dispersed, as they were likely to be at any given moment, throughout the watery parts of the globe, thousands of miles from home—some in the lonely reaches of the South Atlantic, some on the edge of Antarctica, some among the uncharted atolls of the central Pacific, some off the coast of remote Japan.

One wonders too what Quaker domination meant to the development of the industry. More than once Edouard Stackpole insists that Quakerism contributed something distinctive, something essential. But he never tells us what that something was. This seems a pity, for he tells us nearly everything there is to know about the industry. No one, surely, has ever read more logbooks and diaries of whaling voyages than he has done. As a result, he has been able to cram his book with a wealth of good yarns, of salty personalities, of utterly fascinating details. Indeed, there are almost too many details; at times his superabundant material seems to get out of control, and one feels that a little more selectivity would have produced a clearer, sharper, more memorable picture.

But one should not complain of an embarrassment of riches. Besides its copiousness, this book has many substantial merits. It gives, for example, the best account this reviewer has ever seen of the process by which Nantucket threw off little whaling colonies in other parts of the world—Dartmouth in Nova Scotia, Hudson in New York State, Milford Haven in Wales, Dunkirk in France, the Falkland Islands off the Straits of Magellan. Another merit is the wholly justified prominence it gives to the career of the statesmanlike but too-little-known William Rotch, a

Friend who deserves to stand in the company of the great Quaker men of affairs, alongside William Penn, John Bright, Moses Brown, Abraham Darby, and George Cadbury.

The Sea-Hunters, I repeat, has many major merits—and some minor but annoying defects. For one thing, it has been carelessly proofread. I noted over two dozen typographical errors before I stopped counting. (I am charitably assuming that "Mount" for the supposed author of *Mourt's Relation* [p. 16], "Arcadians" for the inhabitants of Nova Scotia [p. 41], "Eldridge" for Elbridge Gerry [p. 102], are misprints, but I fear I cannot make this assumption about the way the name of our Association's President is rendered on page 477.) The index is curiously selective. And one wonders if that good Quakeress, Captain Samuel Joy's wife, was so overcome with apprehension and grief that she *really* said to her two boys: "Thee must prepare yourself for sad news, my sons . . ." (p. 404).

Still, the merits of this stout volume far outweigh its defects. In more senses than one, it is a whale of a book.

F.B.T.

Briefer Notices

By Henry J. Cadbury

Of the many recent articles on Quakerism in popular American periodicals that in *Look,* Vol. 17, No. 24 (December 1, 1953), 66, 68-73, "What Is a Quaker?" has the distinction of being written by a Friend, Richmond P. Miller, a Vice-President of Friends Historical Association. At some points the article ignores the alternative beliefs or practices of a large number of Friends.

* * *

Van S. Merle-Smith, Jr., has written on *The Village of Oyster Bay: Its Founding and Growth from 1653 to 1700* (Garden City, N. Y. [privately printed; distributed by Doubleday & Co.], 1953, 104 pages). It is largely based on the town records compiled years ago by our Friend, John Cox, Jr. It includes in an extended appendix the history of ownership of the fifty-two village lots. The conflict of Dutch and English interests figures in the early history. The Quakers, discussed in pages 50-56, were its earliest organized group and this was one of the earliest Friends' communities in America.

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A brief article in the *Long Island Forum,* 16 [1953], 25, 26, 34, by George R. Blachman, deals with the "Island's Early Quakers."

* * *

The "More Seventeenth-Century Chaucer Allusions," a note by Austin Dobbins in *Modern Language Notes,* 65 [1953], 33, includes two by William Penn—one in his *Great Case of Liberty of Conscience* (1670), pp. 39-40, where Penn attributed to "honest Chaucer" some lines of poetry which actually come from Spenser's Piers *(Shepheards Calendar,* lines 109-137), the other in *Wisdom Justified of Her Children* (1673), p. 78, making mention of the pseudo-Chaucerian "Plowman's Tale."

* * *

Robert M. Utley's article, "The Celebrated Peace Policy of General Grant," in *North Dakota History,* 20 (1953), 121-142, deals with the Indian affairs of Grant's administration, with considerable material on the "Quaker policy."

* * *

Marie Denervaud Dun published in the *California Historical Society Quarterly,* 31 (1952), 241-252, an account of her grandmother under the title "Hannah Lloyd Neal: a 'Literary' Philadelphian in Post-1853 California." She was the sister of Elizabeth Lloyd, the friend of Whittier. In 1852 she married James Neall, also a Philadelphia Friend. The author has many of her letters and her husband's diary in her possession and draws on these. She prints three letters from Thomas Starr King and two from John G. Whittier.

The Rhode Island Historical Society acquired in 1953 two hitherto unknown Rhode Island imprints of 1727, the first year of printing in the colony. They are from the press of James Franklin, brother of Benjamin, at Newport. The author, John Hammett (1680-1773), was alternately Quaker and Baptist. One piece is a letter he wrote in 1721 giving an account of why he had turned from Baptist to Quaker and back again; the other is a "vindication and relation" which he himself published. Later books by him exist, and an earlier one prior to 1718 defending the baptism of water is known only from the printed answer that year by William Wilkinson, a Friend of Rhode Island. The recent discoveries are fully described and discussed by Bradford F. Swan in *Rhode Island History,* 12 (1953), 33-43, 105-109.

* * *

A book for children in the American Heritage series by Frank B. Latham is entitled *The Fighting Quaker: The Southern Campaigns of General Nathanael Greene* (New York: Aladdin Books, 1953, 192 pages).

* * *

A New Bedford Quaker, Daniel Ricketson, had acquaintance with the more important literary figures of New England a century ago. An account of "Daniel Ricketson and Henry Thoreau" by Earl J. Dias, *New England Quarterly,* 26 (1953), 388-396, using the former's unpublished journal together with printed biographical material, gives a pleasant and intimate picture of the sage of Walden.

* * *

An account of childhood life in the family of William Y. and Mary J. Warner in Germantown over half a century ago has been written for grandchildren and privately printed (illustrated, without imprint) and distributed by the youngest of their five daughters, Marian Warner Taylor. The title is "When Nana was Little Marian Warner."

* * *

An account of an estate "Compton, Talbot County," by C. F. C. and J. M. Arensberg, published in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 48 (1953), 215-226, tells the history of a fine old colonial house at Dividing Creek, owned for at least two hundred years by the Stevens family. The land and perhaps part of the present house were owned by William Stevens whom George Fox visited in 1673, but probably not at Compton. The Third Haven minutes show that Friends meetings were held later in this property and that its later owners, William Stevens, Junior, and his son John were Friends, not always in good standing.

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The account by J. Donnell Tilghman of "Wye House" also in Talbot County, ibid., 48 (1953), 89-108, is of similar interest, since its early resident, Philemon Lloyd, was another friend of George Fox. This house also stayed for long in the Lloyd family, but the Lloyds were not Friends.

The article, "Contrabands and Quakers in the Virginia Peninsula, 1862-1869," by Richard L. Morton, in *Virginia History,* 61 (1953), 419-430, is a report mainly of the early work of the Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen, founded by young Philadelphia Friends in November, 1863. There was a Women's Aid Association for the Relief of Colored Refugees. Information is gained from the reports of these bodies and from the Philadelphia *Friend* and the *Freedman's Friend.*

* * *

One is a little surprised to find a chapter on George Fox (pp. 71-77) in J. Ernest Bryant's *Genius and Epilepsy: Brief Sketches of Twenty Great Men Who Had Both* (Concord, Massachusetts: Ye Old Depot Press, 1953), though not so surprised to find Fox in company with St. Paul and Jacob Boehme.

* * *

Lydia L. Rickman writes a supplementary note (Cf. BULLETIN, 42 [1953], 115) on "The Source of William Biddle's English Fortune" in the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine,* 19 (1953), 127-129, in which she concludes that his ability to purchase nearly one-eighth of the Province of New Jersey was due to the money amassed by City merchant ancestors of his wife, Sarah Kemp.

* * *

The early history of a largely Quaker family is reported in due genealogical fashion in the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine,* 19 (1953), 180-197, under the title "Bettle of Stepney, County Middlesex, England, of Salem County, New Jersey and of Philadelphia" by Lewis D. Cook. It includes some data on the Prache-Matern family, a Quaker family of German extraction.

* * *

"The Making of the Lay Tradition" by James F. Maclear in *Journal of Religion,* 33 (1953), 113-136, is a striking description of the emergence of anticlericalism in England based on religious, not secular grounds, and culminating in the period 1640-1660, permanently affecting religion in America as well as in the home country. From Quakerism as the fullest flowering of this development much of the illustrative material is drawn.

* * *

T. R. Glover (1869-1943), Professor at Cambridge University, was for a time much associated with British Friends. This relationship is well presented on pages 81-87 of H. G. Wood's *Terrot Reaveley Glover, A Biography* (Cambridge University Press, 1953).

* * *

The parallel character of Puritanism and Quakerism, in that the mystical element in the former shared with the latter in bringing about religious liberalism toward the end of the seventeenth century, is brought out by Jerald C. Brauer, in an article "Puritan Mysticism and the Development of Liberalism," *Church History,* 19 (1950), 151-170.

An article in *Church History* for 1935 (vol. 4, pp. 187-202) by Miles M. Fisher, entitled "Friends of Humanity: A Quaker Anti-slavery Influence," uses the term to designate also certain anti-slavery leaders in other churches and especially the Baptists of Virginia, Kentucky, etc. He claims Quaker influence on David Barrow and Carter Tarrant and even on the Colonization Society.

* * *

R. H. Evans has contributed an article on "The Quakers of Leicestershire, 1660-1714" to the *Transactions* of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, 28 (1952), 63-83 (with map, available also separately). Though the story begins later than the pre-Quaker and early Quaker experience of Fox and others in the County, for the period that it covers, when Quaker records become available, it is a satisfactory and detailed account of the distribution of Quaker families and meetings, their internal discipline, and their sufferings from without.

* * *

A special enlarged issue of the Greenfield *Recorder-Gazette* under date of June 9, 1953, is dedicated to the history of culture and religion in Greenfield, Massachusetts, in connection with its 200th Anniversary. On page F10 is a brief account of the Friends Meeting founded in 1939 and a picture of the studio of the late Mary Champney, which she gave Friends as a meeting place.

* * *

The *Bulletin* of the American Penstemon Society, No. XI, December, 1952, pp. 155-6, contains a brief notice of the late Francis W. Pennell (1886-1952) by Mary G. Henry. It deals mainly with Dr. Pennell's botanical researches and publications.

* * *

The Cambridge University Press, England, has published a life (350 pages, 1953) of the Quaker-born, versatile scientist, Thomas Young (1777-1829), F.R.S. The principal author is the late Alex Wood, to whom a tribute is contributed by Canon C. E. Raven. The work is completed by F. Oldham. To Young has been attributed the decipherment of hieroglyphics through the Rosetta Stone. He was not only a linguist but a physician, teacher, and naturalist.

* * *

A Catholic French study of minor sects, written by Maurice Colinon (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1953) includes in its central section ten prophets and their sects, ending with Charles Russell and the Jehovah's Witnesses, Joseph Smith and the Mormons, and George Fox and the Quakers. In spite of the book's title, *Faux prophètes et sectes d'aujourd'hui,* this last section (pp. 218-233) is not unfriendly, but occasionally ill-informed, as when it associates Friends with Quaker Oats or with Masonic characteristics.

* * *

Rudolf E. Stickelberger, a prolific popular Swiss writer, has written in German a biography of Elizabeth Fry, *Der schiefergraue Engel: Das Leben der Quäkerin Elisabeth Fry* (Basel: Verlag von Friedrich Reinhardt, no date, 170 pages). The author has taken the liberty of a semi-fictitious presentation and has given no indication of his sources.

* * *

In a few simple but informative chapters Sukeo Kitasawa has written *The Life of Dr. Nitobe* (Hokuseido Press, Tokyo, 1953, 93 pages). Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933) was educated in America and Germany and became an educational leader in Japan, holding at one time the presidency of Tokyo Woman's Christian College, in which his present biographer is his successor. To Friends he is better known as a distinguished fellow member, married into the Philadelphia Elkinton family, and as an internationalist and statesman (Under Secretary-General of the League of Nations). The book covers these and other features of a long and versatile life, is written in quite correct English, is documented with references to other English writings, and concludes with a chronological record in which the titles of his numerous books appear.

* * *

John E. Pomfret contributed to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 77 (1953), 251-293, an extended account of "The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey, 1682-1702." After sketching the background and the method of allotting lands, he deals with each proprietor in turn. The original list contained twenty-four, twenty of whom were Friends; but only one of these came to reside in the province. The governor, the apologist Robert Barclay, up to his death promoted the development of the province as a non-Quaker Scottish proprietary, inducing his relatives and others to invest in the province. This article is parallel to the same writer's studies on West Jersey mentioned in this BULLETIN in recent years.

* * *

The following note by S. W. Carruthers in *Notes and Queries,* 198 (1953), 282, on "William Penn and a 'Trumpet Blown in Sion' " can hardly be abbreviated: "The authorship of this work, not (so far as I am aware) previously recorded, is conclusively proved by the statement of Darby, its printer, that the author, William Penn, sometimes dictated to the compositor as he set the letters (St. Pap. Dom. Car. II 233 (140)—Calendar p. 201)."

* * *

Richard Dean Hathaway has made a thorough study of " 'Ye Scheme to Bagge Penne': A Forged Letter Smears Cotton Mather" in the *William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, 10 (1953), 403-421. He follows Poole, Shipton, and others in declaring the well-known letter a hoax and gives the reasons fully in answer to David R. Barbee. There is, he admits, no probability that historians can lay this popular ghost, but it is useful to

have the matter so fully presented in case anyone again takes it seriously, as in the past, as evidenced by recurrent references to it in this BULLETIN as early as Volume 1 (1907), 89-90, and as lately as Volume 42 (1953), 66.

* * *

When the meetinghouse at Third Haven, Maryland, was insured with the Home Insurance Company, on its centennial, by an agent who is a member of the meeting, the company's house organ, *News from Home,* published an article about it (14 [October, 1953], 2, 3), illustrated with pictures of this and other noteworthy meetinghouses.

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Under the title "Quaker Story" A. F. Wise reported quite inaccurately a story of Joseph Neave's visit to Russia in 1892-93, including an interview with the Czar, in the *Spectator* (London), 190 (1953), 285. John E. Bellows, whose father John Bellows accompanied Joseph Neave in their mission on behalf of English Friends, sets the record straight, ibid., 191 (1953), 62.

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From the pen of Richard L. Morton comes an article on "A 'Yankee Teacher' in North Carolina" in the *North Carolina Historical Review,* 30 (1953), 564-582. It consists of selections from the letters of Margaret Thorpe Newbold of Quaker ancestry, who taught in 1868-69 at Williamsburg, Virginia, and in 1869-70 at Warrenton, North Carolina for the Friends Association for the Relief of Colored Freedmen. The letters here are from the latter place.

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No effort is made to list in these notices everything published about Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810), the Philadelphian called "the father of American fiction." He was of Quaker parentage and lost his birthright membership by marrying out. Yet he retained or regained much of the religious position of his background in spite of the military spirit of the times and their anti-religious rationalism. Two recent major books about him may be simply noted: *The Sources and Influences of the Novels of Charles Brockden Brown,* by Lulu Rumsey Wiley (New York: Vantage Press, 1950, 381 pages); *Charles Brockden Brown, Pioneer Voice of America* by David Lee Clark (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1952, 363 pages).

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A history of the activities of the Quaker Brown family of Luton, once as Brown Brothers, millers, later as Henry Brown & Sons, lumber merchants, but principally as Brown and Green, ironfounders, is rehearsed under the title "A Quaker Foundry," in the *Bedfordshire Magazine,* 4 (1953-54), 99-103.

George R. Snyderman has written "A Preliminary Survey of American Indian Manuscripts in Repositories of the Philadelphia Area," in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 97 (1953), 596-610. It is much more informative than a mere catalogue and indicates the ethnographic and anthropological value of the material as well as the political history. It aims to give the Indian point of view. It is focused on the period between 1744 and 1838. "Since Philadelphia was the seat or capital of the Society of Friends and these people were from their very arrival in the new world friendly to the Indians, it is therefore not surprising to find that the majority of the materials located during our survey can be classified as Quaker."

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Among the many recent studies of movements close to early Quakerism mention should be made of Nils Thune's Uppsala doctoral dissertation in English, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians: A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1948, 229 pages, with an extended bibliography especially of J. Böhme, T. Bromley, J. Lead, and J. Pordage).

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For the 225th Anniversary of Plumstead Meeting (Bucks County, Pennsylvania) a special committee of Buckingham Monthly Meeting prepared and published a booklet on the history of the meeting. The compilers are Comly Michener and Laura Duval Fell. The first Plumstead meetinghouse was built in 1730, the second in 1752 (rebuilt in 1875). In 1869 meetings were discontinued and the members were attached to Buckingham Preparative Meeting. The meetinghouse still stands between Gardenville and Danboro, Pennsylvania.

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Francis Harper has again added to his publications on the Quaker naturalist by an article in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 97 (1953), 571-577, on "William Bartram and the American Revolution." Attention is called to passages deleted from his published writings taking now a pacifist and now a militarist position. The clearest evidence of the latter is the statement by his biographer [George Ord?], that in 1776 he volunteered and joined a detachment of men raised by General McIntosh in Georgia to repel a supposed invasion, and the fact that in 1811 he was one of nearly thirty persons to endorse a petition for an army commission for his nephew-in-law, Robert Carr. Less convincing evidence cited is the undoubted military sympathy of many of his relatives, his approval of republican principles, and his choice as dedicatee for his *Travels* of Franklin, Washington, and finally of Mifflin, then president or governor of Pennsylvania. These arguments are unnecessary recourse to evidence from association. Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne* is also cited, but that work notoriously misrepresents historical characters, e.g., transforming the Tory John Warder into an ardent American patriot.

In the *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,* 11 (1953), 305-313, under the title "A Quaker Family Removes to Ohio" is published a letter dated Highland County, Ohio, Fifth Month 12, 1850, from Benjamin Conard to Jesse Conard of Chester County, Pennsylvania, describing the journey to Ohio and local farming practices.

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In "The Penrose Family of Ballycaine, Co. Wicklow," George E. McCracken has published in the *American Genealogist,* 29 (1953), 242-245, an account of Robert Penrose and his four sons, all Friends, of whom the youngest, his namesake, migrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania about 1717.

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Don D. John contributes to the *Proceedings of the Northumberland County Historical Society,* 19 (1952), 49-79, an article on "The Diary of Eliza John, An Historical and Genealogical Record of the Early Quakers in Northumberland County," Pennsylvania. Griffith John was one of the Welsh settlers in Uwchlan township. He came to Philadelphia in 1709. His son John migrated to Northumberland County in 1795. It was his daughter Eliza whose diary from 1839 to 1863 is referred to. The article deals with the Welsh Quakers, the family history, and (slightly) with the intimate contents of the diary.

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Information from Friends records in England and America has enabled Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr. to supply considerable information on the families of "Barber and Tidmarsh of Chester, Pennsylvania," in *The American Genealogist,* 29 (1953), 219-228, supplementary to the printed Genealogy of the Barber family.

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Northampton Past and Present, 1 (1952), 10-23, contains an article by P. I. King on "Thomas Eayre of Kettering and Other Members of His Family," several of whom were Friends.

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A number of hitherto unpublished Whittier letters appear in James C. Austin's *Fields of The Atlantic Monthly: Letters to an Editor, 1861-1870* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1953), pp. 185-207. Written to the editor who did much to establish his fame as a poet, these letters show Whittier as a docile contributor, always ready to accept editorial criticisms and alterations of his verses.

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"Sir Ambrose Crowley, Ironmonger, 1658-1713" is the subject of a thorough piece of research, based on previously unused manuscripts, by Michael W. Flinn, in *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History,* 5 (1952-53), 162-180. His father, of the same name, was a leading Friend in England and apprenticed his son to a fellow Quaker in London, Clement Plumsted. The younger Ambrose left Friends, but was in close business contact with his brother-in-law Sampson Lloyd, Quaker ironmonger of Birmingham. He was knighted in 1706 and became "one of the most outstanding figures in the history of British industry."

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By Lyman W. Riley
University of Pennsylvania Library

The American Friend

Elwood Cronk writes of "George Fox the Younger," an early Friends minister who was the junior of the founder of Quakerism not in years but "in the truth." His collected writings were published in 1662, about the time of his death.—Dec. 31, 1953, pp. 411-412, 418.

The Friend (London)

"Friends' First Coronation" by Henry J. Cadbury describes various effects on Friends of the coronation of Charles II in 1661. Many were suffering imprisonment at the time; it was an appropriate occasion, therefore, to petition for religious freedom.—June 26, 1953, pp. 603-604.

". . . As Long As Thou Canst" by Joan Hewitt presents the evidence for two different stories of how William Penn gave up the wearing of his sword when he became a Friend; she concludes that the evidence for neither is conclusive.—July 3, 1953, p. 628.

"A Quakeress at the 1821 Coronation Procession" was Katharine Fry, eldest daughter of Elizabeth Fry. George W. Edwards presents, in summary and direct quotation, her account of the royal procession.—July 3, 1953, pp. 635-636.

Friends Intelligencer

"Emerson's Praise of Quakerism," according to Letter from the Past No. 137, was balanced with considerable criticism. His was too independent a mind to be shaped by others' views, although he found much to sympathize with in Quakerism.—May 23, 1953, pp. 283-284.

Charles E. Nelson in "The Hicksite Separation and the West" notes that the issues causing the separation in both East and West were the same; the Society of Friends, unlike most other religious groups on the frontier, insulated itself from the social influences there and so remained small. Had Friends proved more adaptable, their early presence on the frontier plus their effective organization might have led to a great increase in membership.—June 20, 1953, pp. 336-338.

Letter from the Past No. 138 concerns itself with some "Monster Petitions" of 1659 in England. Over 22,000 signatures were obtained for an appeal to Parliament to outlaw tithes and thus allow religious groups freedom to maintain themselves. This movement was organized and pushed largely by Friends.—June 20, 1953, pp. 340-341.

An article by Robert M. Crane, "Milton and Ellwood," reviews the relationship between the poet John Milton and Thomas Ellwood, a Quaker who was also a poet. Ellwood spent some time with Milton as a student and reader. In his autobiography he tells of suggesting to Milton the writing of *Paradise Regained,* sequel to *Paradise Lost.*—Aug. 1, 1953, pp. 413-415.

The "Quaker via Hell Gate" was Robert Stage who, according to an early account, took that route with other Friends journeying from New York to Flushing in 1661. Stage (or Stake or Stack) was presumably a Maryland Friend who suffered considerably for his religious testimonies (Letter from the Past No. 139).—Aug. 22, 1953, pp. 455-456.

Carl W. Andrews, Jr., in "William Penn Chooses a Secretary" gives a brief characterization of James Logan who, despite a close relationship to his employer, presented a marked contrast to him in almost all respects, not the least in his Quakerism.—Sept. 5, 1953, pp. 480-482.

Letter from the Past No. 140, noting the inauguration of Nathan Pusey as President of Harvard University, tells also of "America's First Pusey," who was Caleb, a Quaker settler near Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1681. He was mill proprietor, surveyor, Assemblyman, and writer, as well as a weighty member of Chester Monthly Meeting.—Oct. 10, 1953, pp. 549-550.